

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

EMBER, 1951

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The National Municipal Review

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NEWS for League Members

Coroners Pledge Aid on Model Law

Finding merit in the *Model State Medico-legal Investigative System* issued this year by the National Municipal League and six other national organizations, the National Association of Coroners has voted to have a committee of its own, appointed by Dr. Willis P. Butler, its president, to cooperate in the program.

At its convention in Los Angeles, the association adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, we the members of the National Association of Coroners here assembled have . . . studied and duly discussed the State Medico-legal Investigative System as proposed and sponsored by the National Municipal League as to how it would affect the coroner system in the various jurisdictions of the several states of the United States of America and have concluded that there is merit in this proposal as it refers to the improvement of legal medicine as now practiced in the jurisdictions of the several states of the United States of America.

NOW, therefore, be it resolved that the president of the National Association of Coroners appoint a committee to work with a committee of the National Municipal League to integrate the plans and philosophies of the National Association of Coroners with those of the National Municipal League in regard to model medico-legal investigation in order that there may evolve a plan which will be universally acceptable and that a report of the results of such efforts shall be presented to the 1952 convention of the National Association of Coroners.

Be It Further Resolved that the National Association of Coroners express their gratitude and appreciation to the National



DR. WILLIS P. BUTLER

President, National Association of Coroners

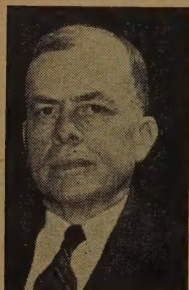
Municipal League for their interest in legal medicine and their effort exerted toward the improvement of the relation of this specialty to governmental functions.

Be It Further Resolved that the National Association of Coroners express their gratitude and appreciation to the American Medical Association for their interest and collaboration in efforts to improve the practice of legal medicine in the United States of America.

Dr. Richard Ford, acting head of the Department of Legal Medicine, Harvard Medical School, chief draftsman of the model system which provides for a state central medico-legal laboratory staffed with trained investigators and specialists, addressed the coroners prior to adoption of the resolution.

Reviewers Welcome Stewart History of NML

Frank Mann Stewart's book, *A Half Century of Municipal Reform: The History of the National Municipal*



League, has received uniformly favorable reviews since its publication late in 1950 by the University of California Press.

It has been generally welcomed as an important basic document, well planned and writ-

ten for reference use by scholars and as an accurate and complete record of the League's part in strengthening the processes of self-government.

Excerpts from some of the reviews follow:

Future students of the history of the period 1894-1944 will have a treasury of rich material in this invaluable work of Dr. Frank Mann Stewart . . . the history of the National Municipal League . . . a panorama of persons and events which masterfully shows the significant and encouraging changes from the status of government prompting the oft-cited words of James Bryce in 1888 to the vastly improved conditions existing today in many American states and probably in most local governments.

—*American Political Science Review*, June 1951

This is a history of the National Municipal League which since 1894 has been the important force in municipal reform in the United States. . . . The book describes the National Municipal League development of model city char-

ters, budget laws, taxing systems and other instruments of democratic local self-government and explains how wages its campaigns on the basis of citizen education, citizen participation and citizen control.

—*Western City*, April 1951

Frank Mann Stewart . . . well versed in municipal administration, was a admirable choice as author. He has gathered the facts . . . and produced a well organized history. . . . Too much credit cannot be given to the many public-spirited men who volunteered their services through the National Municipal League. One is impressed by the high quality of their leadership. —*Municipal Reference Library*, New York, N. Y., February 1951

The National Municipal League . . . has been the head physician at the bedside of ailing city governments for more than 50 years. . . . It has been once the inspiration and the chief counsel for most of the civic reform movements of this century in the United States. . . . To it belongs a substantial share of the credit for the remarkable improvement in the management of civic affairs which has occurred since Lord Bryce characterized our city governments as "the one conspicuous failure of the United States."

—*The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May 1951

[The National Municipal League's *Model State Constitution* has regularly presented the best current thinking on judicial reform in its judiciary article and the Society has recently joined in promoting the League's project for modernization of the outmoded judicial office of coroner. . . . We take a fraternal interest in Frank Mann Stewart's

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Revolt of the 'Independents'

THOSE who try with meaningless catchwords such as party responsibility, party loyalty, two-party system and so on, to keep the voters blind to crimes of mismanagement and corruption were not encouraged by the November elections.

The "independent vote" is an uncertain and indefinable thing that asserts itself more often in local than in state or national elections; usually it arises from the simple discovery by the voters that they have been bamboozled by medicine men who claim that national party labels have some sort of hallowed standing in relation to community problems.

Three of the largest cities provided especially impressive examples of voter independence.

In Philadelphia a people who have faithfully voted Republican for generations arose in their wrath against the evils of misgovernment and elected Democrats as mayor, district attorney, sheriff and as fourteen members of the new seventeen-member city council.

In New York, Tammany Hall was crushed by the overwhelming victory of Rudolph Halley, former chief counsel for the Kefauver Committee, as Liberal party candidate for president of the city council.

In Boston, James Michael Curley was yanked off the political stage with a finality that showed not only the positive irritation of the voters over having been fooled by the talented old master all these years but also a refreshing confidence in enlightened, high principled youth as represented by the New Boston Committee, which led the spirited revolt.

In some smaller communities there were similar evidences of independent, intelligent citizen action. Close on the heels of its October adoption of one of the finest modern council-manager plan charters, San Antonio elected a city council of outstanding citizens to put the new form of government in operation. Despite a determined effort by the county machine to defeat him, the people of Youngstown, Ohio, swarmed to the polling places to reelect racket-busting Mayor Charles P. Henderson for his third successive term. In Arkansas a Republican actually became mayor of Little Rock. Elsewhere candidates of normally minority parties were elected to various offices, notably that of district attorney.

In all these places the issue was local good government or misgovernment. There were no state or national connotations. The people saw the local issues clearly and did something about them.

As registration records easily prove, Republicans voted Democratic in Philadelphia and were urged to do so by the normally Republican *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Democrats voted Liberal in New York. A Democrat kept Democrat Curley off the public payroll in Boston. Party had nothing to do with the refreshing San Antonio revolution or with Youngstown's memory of the evils of gang control of only a few years ago.

These elections may be interpreted as a spontaneous demand for non-partisan local elections which, fortunately, already are in effect in a majority of our cities. There is, after

all, no valid reasons for national and state parties to be involved and every reason why they should not.

It has been amply demonstrated that, to be effective and self-reliant, cities must be emancipated from the tyranny of the national and state political parties. Good citizens who

agree on vital local issues should not be divided by blind loyalties that serve only to confuse these issues.

The way to decency and honesty in national as well as local politics is to eliminate parties from the local scene and thus to make all voters "independent."

Other Counties Please Copy

IN the same election that the voters of Philadelphia kicked out a machine which had had a 67-year monopoly, they voted for the consolidation of city and county.

The constitutional amendment which abolishes separate county departments was adopted by a large majority. It also paves the way for elimination of such useless offices as coroner and county commissioner.

This elimination of overlapping,

duplicating functions is something that a good many metropolitan communities could profitably emulate.

Two or more governments to serve exactly the same people within exactly the same territory look pretty ridiculous these days. More voters would demand an end of this senseless inefficiency, extravagance and waste if they were not confused by the conflicting claims of vested interests, chiefly political.

Something Better to Check Crime

The Kefauver Committee in its final report recommends, "local, privately constituted crime commissions.

... But there is a more direct and effective way by which citizens can cope with crime. That is by setting up a citizens committee or charter party to take local government out of politics by electing and maintaining a council-manager government.

To cope with crime, and the community conditions which breed crime, you need a police department in which the patrolmen, detectives and administrators have been chosen for no reason except their qualifications, are paid good salaries, ... are sure that if they arrest big shots they will be promoted and honored rather than demoted or discharged. ...

The easiest, most direct and surest way to obtain this result is through

council-manager government, in which the power is in the hands of a citizen council, and the entire city administration, composed of a trained professional city manager and his staff, has been appointed on a merit basis and handles all public affairs without political interference. ...

But to do it, citizens must set up their own organization which reaches down into every precinct, which is on the job day in and day out, year in and year out—smarter, more effective, more persistent than any boss's machine could ever be, yet conducting all its affairs with decency and honor. ...

When citizens organize to set up and maintain a non-political council-manager government they are on the path of progress.

—EDWARD J. MEEMAN, Editor, *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, September 17, 1951.

Goals for the Modern City

Broad plans to make full use of wasted and neglected human and material resources proposed for urban areas

By HENRY BRUERE*

JOHN ADAMS, one of the most reflective of the little company of men who laid the foundations of our republic, once observed that "the steady management of a good government is the most anxious, arduous and hazardous vocation on this side of the grave." For the past 50 years the National Municipal League has striven by conference, research, invention and education to smooth the way for those who wish to give "steady management" to cities.

In this time, citizen effort and the conscientious work of countless city officials have undoubtedly resulted in greatly improved city administration. Nevertheless, for good managers it is still an arduous vocation. For the other kind, it is probably not as hazardous as it should be! But city governments, I take it we shall agree, especially in our larger cities, can still stand a lot of betterment.

One reason our city governments are not as good as they should be is that we do not expect enough of them. We do not hold them in sufficient regard to demand a first class job from them. We do not know what we want of them because we have never taken the trouble to set

down a plan and program for our communities.

We have not yet generally realized that the conditions we confront in our great cities today are due less to moral deficiencies of our public servants, whom we blame, than to the fact that our technological and scientific developments have outstripped our political arts. Governmentally speaking, we still live in the eighteenth century, whereas our practical, everyday lives are controlled by twentieth century habits and needs. We have not tried to formulate even a tentative picture of what we wish our cities to be nor even to list their obvious defects. We have not outlined practical and immediate programs for dealing with the continuing and special problems which confront a city. We perpetually wallow in our discomforts and inconveniences.

The great American need is for intelligence, courage and care in developing practical but bold programs for the betterment of municipal conditions. There needs to be a new approach to the ordering of our municipal life. We have raised our standards of living and our expectations from life but we have not put our minds to designing and managing our communities so as to help us fulfill these expectations. This is an assignment for good citizenship which cannot be accomplished overnight but which is certainly not beyond the capacity of a people who, as

*Mr. Bruère, New York banker, civic leader and former public official, is currently president of the National Municipal League. He organized and directed the first local bureau of governmental research. This article is Mr. Bruère's address before the National Conference on Government at Cincinnati, November 26, 1951.

General Eisenhower remarked not long ago, can do anything they put their mind to. It is something that cannot be neglected. We are pushed to action, if only by the physical necessities of traffic, transportation and the redevelopment of shabby and outmoded areas.

England's Experience

During the past two decades in England, government officials, guided by special commissions and expert studies, have had the courage to look at the problem of remodeling the outmoded city not as a hopeless set of insurmountable difficulties but as an urgent task, prerequisite to healthy and, I may add with underscoring, pleasant living. I have recently had an opportunity to study these plans and the resultant programs and I found them eminently worth while for Americans to examine. To those Britishers who have taken a long and critical look at their country's urban conditions, it is obvious that modern traffic must be provided for, that recreation is essential to well-being, that access to the countryside is, for a Britisher at least, a fundamental need, that decent housing, attractive schools, playfields, transportation, easy access to work, are all indispensable to what we call the American, and they the British, way of life.

This approach to our city problem is, I submit, what America needs. The essential first step, then, is that a plan or a program be made, preferably by a joint commission of public officials and citizens. The realization of this plan then becomes a practical problem of taking one step

after another, as conditions and resources permit. This can be done and will prove profitable, once we recognize that clear thinking about our problems will be best predicated on an intelligent plan.

In advocating a plan, I do not mean a set of designs prepared partly from dreams by professional city planners. Their aid, naturally, is indispensable. But the guiding body in such an undertaking should be a small, specially designated citizen group of competence and disinterestedness, but not so composed that conflicting interests and convictions can cancel out each other, with milk and water results.

A good plan and program should be based on thorough investigation, supplemented by hearings and abundant public discussion. It should be formulated with the aid of experts, but principally by tough-minded persons who will put down what is not merely desirable but also practical and likely to be accomplished within a reasonable time and without undue financial burden. It should consist of policy as well as proposals for physical improvements.

It is only human to shy away from the making of plans for fear they will prove too ambitious. But, as a matter of fact, a great deal more can generally be accomplished than seems possible in advance. I venture to say that if the sum total of accomplishments of the average city in the past ten or fifteen years had been put forth as a plan at the beginning of the period, taxpayers' and other trembling hands would have been raised in horror.

I am pleased that this conference

has been held in Cincinnati because here we may expect to observe the good that results from dealing with our municipal administrative problems with professional responsibility. Cincinnati holds for me especially memories appropriate to this occasion. I came here about 40 years ago, in company with a young man who later became one of the exceptional mayors of New York, John Purroy Mitchel. We had been invited to discuss before the Chamber of Commerce and the Century Club the program of the Bureau of Municipal Research of New York, with which, from its inception, I had been connected.

As a result of these meetings, due more to the charm and earnest appeal of Mr. Mitchel than to my own awkward presentation, a bureau of research was established in Cincinnati. Mr. Mitchel was not connected with the New York Bureau of Municipal Research but, as a public official, he had for years cooperated with it. The Cincinnati bureau began its work with the like cooperation of another young man who, shortly after its inception, became mayor of the city—Henry T. Hunt. The sponsors and staff of the new civic organization enjoyed a very cordial relationship with him as mayor.

While we note with pleasure such improvements as the past records, we cannot forget that the future holds for cities opportunities of the greatest appeal. Three of these are especially urgent. The first relates to the problem of finance. The second is the need of a program. The third is civil service personnel management. Perhaps I should add a fourth from which in a sense the other three must

spring, namely amateur citizen participation in government activity.

The cost of city government is getting out of hand. New York as the chief example has a budget of one and a third billion dollars and its needs are not met. Thus far, no important results have been obtained from efforts to effect economies. Now, a study of all management problems, of unparalleled scope, is under way. It will cost upward of two million dollars, is well staffed and is ably supervised by a joint committee of citizens and public officials. It may give us guidance for like efforts elsewhere. It may show how costs can be cut.

Financial Aspects

But meanwhile there remains the insistent problem of raising the necessary revenues for running the city. The solution cannot be merely a local one. The income of the nation and the production of wealth are not tied in separate bundles—this bundle for the city, this bundle for the state and this for the nation. There are not different sets of individuals supplying the funds for the several governments, local, state and national. We are just one unhappy family!

The source of public revenue is common but the demands are separate, distinct and uncoordinated. In some states a partial solution has been found by rebating to localities some of the revenue taken by the states. But the problem is wider than that. Pockets are still being tapped by all the government agencies without sufficient regard to the needs of other parts of our government machinery.

Sales taxes cannot be added to sales taxes, income taxes to income taxes, nor property taxes increased up to the level of constitutional limits and then the constitution changed, at least without pain and protest.

Revenues are raised with more regard to the demands of the public treasury than to the effect on the individual who must pay. Taxation in the United States has now taken on the air of a virtue, those who tax forgetting that, as a matter of fact, for the most part, taxation is only a necessary evil. Here is a field for study and readjustment which should be national in scope.

In the use of national tax resources, first things must come first, obviously, such as national defense. But if and when that need is satisfied or reduced to more manageable proportions, we shall still have to regulate and coordinate the insistent demands of the whole hierarchy of taxing authorities. With a third or more of our national income flowing into public treasuries, we must recognize that the reshaping of our public revenue system is, next to preparedness, America's number one problem. The cities are feeling the pinch of poverty while the demands for city services grow.

This is not the place to discuss the whole catalogue of national needs. Certainly a systematic analysis of federal government spending plans (setting aside as beyond question preparedness spending) would be illuminating if it were within the power of any mere mortal to comprehend. Certainly the states owe it to their constituent communities to be specific on what their needs are

and what benefits their proposed budgets will bring.

But we are concerned here with cities. By way of illustrating in part, at least, what I have in mind in proposing a program, I shall refer briefly to the current British approach to the restoring and rebuilding of their cities, London in particular. Except for one or two items, I need not dwell on the character of the type of housing which the British authorities are now building. One of these items is the attempt in the new developments to create balanced communities of different economic levels. All residents are not of one group, such as we find in American housing projects. The low rent group predominates but appropriate housing is provided for professional and other higher income persons. I was particularly pleased, for obvious reasons, with the special facilities provided for elderly couples. In nearly every project, small two- or three-room apartments with little gardens were set aside on the ground floor for elderly persons.

Stating the Problem

What I found most significant was the purpose to deal with housing and other urban redevelopment as a project in building pleasant livable communities with an adequate supply of what the British call the amenities. They have taken a good long look at their cities and have decided to change things for the better. To that end, certain conclusions have been reached which may be summarized about as follows:

Slums are intolerable and should be eradicated.

The concentration of industries in relatively few centers is undesirable.

The existence of one-industry communities is socially dangerous because of the hazards of unemployment, with which Britain had a long and bitter experience.

Congestion of population in any city militates against welfare.

Prolonged daily commuting by workers is undesirably and wastefully fatiguing.

The sprawl of arid, ribbon-like suburban development along lines of transportation should be stopped because it leads to social isolation and dreariness as well as to unmanageable problems involved in supplying community facilities.

Towns should not recklessly encroach on the surrounding countryside, because such encroachment uses up agricultural land needed for food. England produces food sufficient for four out of seven days or hardly that.

Such encroachment also tends to destroy the countryside to which urban populations need to have access for their health and happiness. A city consisting of crowded tenements, endless streams of weary commuters, snarled traffic lanes and overcrowded transportation facilities is not something to be perpetuated but to be changed. Bigness is not a merit but may be a detriment if it becomes too big.

We all know of the tragic fate of Coventry in the war. They are rebuilding the town and hotly discussing the plan to transform the bombed cathedral into an ultra-modern structure to which, I should think, it would be difficult to attach much sentiment. But Coventry has grown

beyond its prewar size and does not wish to grow larger. New industries are not welcomed without careful inquiry into the facilities available for them. The authorities there say they need the surrounding country for food and recreation and that the town just can't take care of more than the 200,000 persons who live there. And notwithstanding this, I believe that there is a flourishing Chamber of Commerce in that city!

But in London as in Coventry, and to greater or less extent elsewhere, rebuilding of damaged areas and redevelopment of outmoded areas is being done according to plan.

Plans for London

The plan for London contemplates not that London will or should grow larger or that it will remain about its present size but that it should shrink in population. This was the carefully arrived at conclusion of a parliamentary or royal commission which studied the London puzzle for months, holding hearings at which all elements of the community were asked to present their views as well as to discuss questions propounded to them and in which experts were employed to dig out the required information. The commission made its report in 1940. It was concerned chiefly with the problem of redistributing the industrial population and recommended the creation of a national authority to carry out its recommendations, which was done.

In part to carry out the recommendations of this commission on the distribution of the industrial population, a series of town planning studies of the Greater London area

were undertaken. A Greater London plan was proposed which lays down the principles on which redevelopment and future development of land should be based.

One feature of this plan was the creation of a series of new towns to which the excess London population could be attracted, together with industry that could be induced or persuaded to relocate there. Eight such new towns are in course of development. All of them are beyond commuting distance yet not too far from London to make occasional access convenient.

The elements of the British plan are only sketched here. Many of them are controversial. None is fully vindicated by long experience. But they are the result of study and a determination to avoid haphazard development leading to civic confusion, barren existence and long distance commuting. They are concerned to facilitate the growth of happy communities where, in the language of one of the new town managers, "a man may bicycle home for lunch and incidentally take a look at his tomato plants."

I come back to my original point. The essential thing about the city is its character—how people live in it, how they work in it and how they can bring up their children in it. The city should not be centrifugal, scattering its people over long stretches of suburban territory. It should be livable and controlled in the interest of good living. How to do this? I do not know but I stand on the proposition that a way will be found if there is adequate study given to the matter.

In citing English experience which I have recently had an opportunity to observe, I do not suggest we take their cure unaltered and undiluted and try to apply it to all of our own situations. I advocate a Cincinnati plan, a Cleveland plan, a Chicago plan and a New York plan and perhaps, first and foremost, a Washington, D. C., plan—that city of lost opportunities!

Of course a Cincinnati plan, a Cleveland plan, a Chicago plan or a Seattle plan cannot be made simply by and for the people who live within the boundaries of those cities any more than the planning for the future of the cities of Great Britain could have been done by separate groups, each confined to the citizens living within the bounds of a single city.

Cooperation on Plans

British planning for future cities, old and new, has involved the co-ordination of national and local efforts. As I have already indicated, there are aspects of the planning for the future of American cities that must, even in this continental land, be on a national scale. That is notably true of the matter of adjusting our tax systems to the capacities of the taxpayers and to the legitimate needs of the several governments they must support.

But in our country the states, generally speaking, occupy, with respect to the cities and their problems, a position of responsibility and authority roughly comparable to that of the central government in Great Britain. Consequently, if we are to have a Cleveland plan or a Cincinnati plan that is workable there will

no doubt be needed an Ohio plan that will look to the future of rural areas and living conditions there at the same time city problems are studied. The neglect of the country breeds city-rural antagonisms that are an endless source of difficulty.

If Ohio and perhaps New York and two or three other states would pioneer in this approach to the problems of cities and their proper role in the political, social and economic pattern of a changing America, they might show the way toward the gradual elimination of problems like that of legislative reapportionment that now seem virtually insoluble. At the same time, they could establish the states once again as the essential custodians of the local and popular elements in our American system that they must be to continue to justify their very existence.

Raise Civil Service Standards

Now, a further word on personnel. You can't have a well designed, imaginatively planned and well run city without a good personnel to do the job. We have hardly passed the stage of development in civil service of the Pendleton act of keeping the spoilsmen out by instituting selection on the basis of competitive examinations. It is not necessary to recite the great contribution made to business efficiency and employee growth, well-being and happiness by modern personnel management in our well conducted private enterprises.

Civil service, as now conceived, often accomplishes no more than to equalize the status of worker and drone and to dampen the zeal of all but the most inspired civil employees. Incentive systems, training, recogni-

tion of good work and initiative, the cultivation of leadership—all these, tied to a definite program of accomplishment for each departmental group—will do more for good municipal government, in my opinion, than any single innovation. If we could only awaken the latent talents of the rank and file of city personnel, great results would follow. In New York a report has recently been submitted, suggesting steps along the lines of what I am attempting to say.

Is it not time we moved from the post Civil War days to the middle of the twentieth century in personnel management of our cities?

From what I have said, may I draw four conclusions:

First, before we destroy our municipal credit by swollen budgets and excessive taxation, we should have a national study of the whole question of the means of raising public revenues and their appropriate distribution. Without representation, taxation has long ago been put down as intolerable. But without relation to specific needs in proper proportion, the high level of taxation we are now bearing leads to extravagance, inflation and a general lowering of the tone of government. Just because, whether wisely or not, we have come to use the power to tax as a measure of social regulation, such as the liquor tax and the inheritance and estate taxes, we must not slip into the dangerous conclusion that all taxation is beneficial as a means of offsetting inflation or for other reasons. For the most part, the taxes we pay can only be justified by the public good the spending of the resulting revenues produces.

Second, we cannot leave to haphazard attempts at solution the great problem of rebuilding and reshaping our cities so that they may accord with modern standards of decent living and free us from conditions such as the ever increasing abomination of traffic and parking congestion, to mention only one item. We must have a well considered plan and a program based on it which, if followed, will give us cities where we can live in comfort and decency on our average incomes.

Third, this is the time to establish new standards in the civil service, as recent exposures have so abundantly shown. The undeveloped abilities of our civil servants are one of the nation's greatest available resources for improvement in government administration and for civic betterment. Our hope lies not in finding one man to work miracles but in the thousands who have chosen public service as a

means of livelihood and who need only leadership and incentive to make it the highest vocation.

Finally, do we not need more unselfish civic leadership from successful men and women who are willing to devote as much of their time to public problems as they do to their golf or their gardens or their stamp collections?

I do not refer solely to unselfish service in Washington or overseas, for which we are so greatly indebted. But especially I have in mind attempts to find solutions for problems that we need to solve in cities and states if American community living is to be as up-to-date, let us say, as our motor cars, refrigerators and television sets. In all these fields of effort there is need not only of skilled and devoted professionals but also of the amateur called to a specific public task from which he or she may obtain great satisfaction and deserved honor.

How to Wake Up an Old State

It took organized effort, large funds to scrap ancient New Jersey constitution and open way to major progress.

By CHARLES EDISON*

LIKE a good many other citizens, especially businessmen, my first substantial experience in public affairs was not in my home town. It was during those hectic days after Roosevelt's first election that I served on the New Jersey State Recovery Board after a succession of assignments to several of the alphabetical agencies with which we undertook to fight the depression. I ultimately landed in the president's cabinet as Secretary of the Navy. It was an illuminating experience in more ways than one.

I'd always believed that democracy must begin in the home town and neighborhood. But certain basic truths became much clearer as I wrestled with the petty details and frustrations with which mammoth problems are bedeviled in the bureaucratic labyrinth of Washington.

I soon discovered that virtually every expansion of federal activities has its ardent supporters back in the home towns and that often the demand for federal action is due to nothing more nor less than indifference or lack of timely or effective action by state or local authorities. And I also discovered that many of the people who set the tone of public morals and public service in Washing-

ton are there not because Uncle Sam called them but because Big Jim down in the third ward sent a message that carried persuasion to a United States senator or somebody else in Washington who has his sharpest eye on local political fences.

That is why, back in 1940, I decided I could best continue to serve my country, even when it looked pretty certain that we were heading into World War II, by going back to my home state and helping make it a more effective and desirable member of the team of 48 states. So I ran for governor.

As I faced up to the problem of what I could accomplish as governor, I immediately ran into two stiff obstacles. One was a well entrenched bipartisan boss system, of which Mayor Frank Hague was then the gaudiest and most fragrant, but by no means the only, flower. The other was the state's century-old constitution. I dug back into history and discovered that my distinguished predecessor, Woodrow Wilson, had run into the same two obstacles a generation earlier. Of course, the names on the top of the political dung hill were not all Hague in those days but they meant much the same thing.

I also quickly discovered, as Woodrow Wilson had, that there was a close connection between these two obstacles to honest, effective, democratic government. As Wilson had put it, "The powers of corrupt control have an enormous and abiding advantage

*Mr. Edison, former governor of New Jersey, is chairman of the Council and former president of the National Municipal League. This article is his address before the National Conference on Government at Cincinnati, November 27, 1951.

under our constitutional arrangements as they stand."

The corrupt political machine manipulators of both parties were opposed to an improved state constitution in Wilson's day. They were just as opposed in mine. Why? Because demagogues and self-seekers feed on any conditions that frustrate citizens for whom government is simply a means to promote the common good. This is just as true here as it is in any of the so-called backward countries where we can easily see the connection between unsatisfactory or intolerable conditions which masses of the people feel unable to cope with, and the demagogues, tyrants and dictators who exploit the resulting discontents.

Calls for Revision

So I campaigned for a new constitution by way of a constitutional convention and so, to his lasting credit, did my Republican opponent, then state senator, now United States Senator Robert Hendrickson.

I made the calling of a convention the number one point in my inaugural address. I did not expect the legislature to fall over itself to enact the necessary legislation to bring it about but I was gambling that the people, the plain citizens who had nothing to lose but some legal and political chains, would rally to the cause. Many of them, especially leaders of unselfish civic organizations like the League of Women Voters, had told me that more than half their major civic objectives invariably stubbed their toes on the old constitution.

I delivered my inaugural message and waited. I was not disappointed. Within little more than a month more

than two hundred citizens, representative of a broad cross-section of the organized civic and economic interests in the state, met at the call of the State League of Women Voters and organized the New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Revision. This committee continued as an active civic force until New Jersey's present constitution was adopted almost seven years later. I wonder if that isn't something of a record.

There is not time to give a complete catalogue of the deficiencies of the New Jersey constitution of 1844 or a blow-by-blow account of how New Jersey finally secured a new constitution in 1947.

The story would cover not only the Committee for Constitutional Revision and many permanent citizen organizations but also the New Jersey Constitution Foundation, another new citizen agency established to do research and education on the constitution and possible changes in it. It would include the story of how my two Republican successors in office, Walter E. Edge and Alfred E. Driscoll, carried on the fight. It would cover what appeared at the time to be a grievous setback at the polls in 1944. This was the defeat of a new constitution proposed by the legislature to carry out recommendations of the Commission on Revision of the New Jersey Constitution.

I realize that every state is different. Ohio is more fortunate than New Jersey because of the automatic provision which gives the people an opportunity every twenty years to decide whether or not they would like to have a convention. In a majority of the states, however, the

calling of a convention depends upon legislative action, in many cases by an extraordinary majority of an unrepresentative body, followed by a vote of more than a simple majority of the people who vote on the question. For some of those states the road to a constitutional convention may be harder than the one we travelled in New Jersey.

Weaknesses in Constitutions

I don't pretend to be a student of the constitution of each of the 48 states. But unless I have been badly informed there are few states indeed that do not suffer from several of the following serious weaknesses in their governmental systems, weaknesses traceable directly to outmoded constitutions:

(1) Cumbersome, unrepresentative legislative bodies, unresponsive to urgent public needs, especially in urban areas, yet often subject to manipulation by selfish interests;

(2) Governors who enjoy the title of chief executive but who are almost as helpless in office as an armless man in a boxing ring;

(3) Complicated state court systems, without any head or administrative staff capable of expediting and assuring justice, manned in many cases by judges who have to spend much of their time running for reelection;

(4) Municipal and county governments in strait-jackets that deny the people the right to learn the practice of self-government in their home towns;

(5) Voters overburdened by the necessity to elect too many officials

to offices of a minor or ministerial character, by methods that make real majority rule difficult or impossible;

(6) Responsible officials denied the right to use modern systems of budgeting, accounting, personnel management and other techniques through which sound businesses and properly organized governments are able to provide maximum service most efficiently and at least cost;

(7) Arbitrary limitations on the powers, including the fiscal capacities, of state and local governments that force citizens to turn to Washington to do things that their local governments could do better;

(8) Provisions for future amendments or revision that in some cases are ridiculously and dangerously easy and in other cases are even more ridiculously and dangerously difficult.

One might well wonder why anybody would oppose revision of a state constitution which contained a number of these booby traps for democracy. Nevertheless in New Jersey we found roughly three kinds of people who fought even opening the door to constitutional revision:

(1) The political bosses and the whole breed of machine politicians of both parties;

(2) Special groups or interests who enjoyed advantages under the old constitution which they feared they might lose if a constitution were written by a representative body of their fellow citizens to meet present day needs of the entire state;

(3) Congenitally nervous or fearful people who in 1919 saw a Bolshevik in any stranger who might come down the street, or in 1951 identify as a Communist anyone whose political ideas they don't quite understand or approve.

These three groups are different in many ways, but they have one significant thing in common. None of them really believes in democracy.

People who oppose constitutional revision do not always present their real arguments because they know they won't stand up. Consequently, we learned in New Jersey that we had to be prepared to meet all kinds of phony arguments and downright lies and misrepresentations.

Campaigning Pays Off

The fact that the constitution of 1947, submitted by a convention, was adopted by an overwhelming vote virtually without organized opposition, simply underlines the value of long and careful preparation and testifies to the peculiar virtue of an elected convention for bringing conflicting ideas out into the open and arranging compromises that are acceptable to honest citizens interested in the common good.

The point is that the convention of 1947 and the overwhelming approval of its work would never have been possible had it not been for the seven years' buildup and the fact that the constructive forces in the state made it clear to the natural enemies of revision that they would not be denied. By 1947 even Mayor Hague decided to make a virtue of necessity and acquire what credit he could by getting belatedly on the bandwagon.

Since then, Mr. Hague has been retired by the enthusiastic vote of his own people of Jersey City.

I don't claim that the political millennium has come to New Jersey or that we have disposed of all bosses, Democratic or Republican. But I am sure it will be a long time before another Hague appears on the scene.

An important part of the credit for Mr. Hague's permanent eclipse should go to the new constitution. In the first place, the governor can be more independent of local politicians than he used to be because they have less opportunity through the legislature to deprive him of the control that a responsible chief executive must have over state administration. The new court system, which I firmly believe is the best in the country, has deprived the bosses of vast areas of patronage and influence that used to provide some of their happiest hunting grounds. Other less spectacular changes have tended in the same direction of substituting visible government under the direct control of officials responsible to the people for invisible government by strings pulled from back rooms.

We still have, I regret to say, an unrepresentative State Senate which has deprived the people of some of the benefits that might have been theirs. I mention this because we don't imagine that we have finished the job in New Jersey or that the job can ever be finished in any state at any one time. Keeping government and democratic institutions abreast of the times and always within the control of the people requires continuous attention and struggle.

Some people shy from a constitutional convention because they fear it may be carried away by "radical" ideas. On the record, the fear is as baseless as a small boy's fear of Hal-lowe'en hobgoblins. Every regular constitutional convention in American history has been essentially conservative. Do you know any state that has been electing red or even pale pink legislatures lately? Conventions are elected on very much the same basis as state legislatures. That being the case, the real danger is that a constitutional convention will not be as bold as it should.

Fight Centralization

I am afraid, and I am not ashamed to admit it, of the trend toward more and more centralization in Washington or in any other remote place. Yet I do not believe we are ever going to stop that trend or even seriously to check it just by deploring it or by any direct action it is humanly possible to take in Washington.

Nobody has ever improved on

Thomas Jefferson's statement of this truth when he observed that it is not possible to strengthen the state governments "by any change in the federal constitution . . . it must be done by the states themselves, erecting such barriers at the constitutional line as cannot be surmounted either by themselves or by the general government. The only barrier in their power is a wise government. A weak one will lose ground in every contest."

What do you suppose Jefferson meant by strengthening the state governments? His prescription was for smaller legislatures proportioned "equally among the electors," more responsible executives and more independent judiciaries. It's a good prescription today.

We Americans are fortunate that we are among the few peoples of the world who are still free to follow Jefferson's advice. The way to keep freedom is to use it deliberately and courageously. The surest way to lose it is to let it grow rusty with disuse.

If Big Steel Comes to Town

Connecticut governor's committee makes study of problems raised if huge industrial plant moves into small community.

By RICHARD MARTIN*

TOO MANY communities have worked to attract large industries or defense plants only to find themselves saddled with debt and burdensome problems because of the need for new schools, streets, water, fire protection and other necessities of urban life. Early this year, when there was talk of building a huge steel plant at the edge of the small community of Waterford, Connecticut, Governor John Davis Lodge, to forestall such consequences, appointed a committee to consider the problems that would inevitably be created.

The Committee on Community Adjustment Problems¹ has made its report, pointing out possible courses of action by the state and local governments as well as others. Its findings may be of help to other communities faced with similar problems. A modest affair, intended to serve as a basis of discussion, the

report was compiled largely through the process of seeking ideas and data from public officials and others who might have useful information readily available. The committee made no original studies. Here are some of its conclusions.

A million-ton-per-year steel mill at Waterford and expected satellite factories in its orbit would likely increase the population of the area by 12,000 people within five to ten years.

Throughout the area which would be affected there is now a deficit of public and semi-public facilities. To supply modern accommodations and services for additional population would mean replacement and expansion of many existing public buildings and programs.

The legislature had been asked to grant the power of eminent domain to acquire rights in any lake, pond, stream or water-course anywhere in Middlesex or New London Counties for the operation of the steel mill and by-product processes, as well as for taking land for the mill site. The proposed plan to supply the steel mill with water would have adversely affected future expansion of the public water supply of New London and development of such supplies for Waterford, East Lyme and Montville. The committee recommended that no drainage area be taken until the State Health Department certified that it would not interfere with expansion or development of public water supply systems and that the

*Mr. Martin, director of the Connecticut State Water Commission, was secretary of the Committee on Community Adjustment Problems on whose work he reports. This article was prepared by Mr. Martin as his address before the National Conference on Government, Cincinnati, November 27, 1951.

¹In addition to Mr. Martin members of the committee were: Elmer C. Schattschneider, Wesleyan University, *chairman*; George E. Hinman, retired justice, Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors; William L. Slate, retired director of the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station and former chairman of the State Planning Board; and Joseph M. Loughlin, director of the Institute of Public Service, University of Connecticut.

General Assembly authorize contiguous towns to organize districts for water supply purposes.

Transportation, handling and storage of raw materials, sanitary facilities and most of the production processes in the steel mill and satellite factories would be potential sources of pollution of tidal and inland waters. However, all these wastes can be treated so that they may be discharged without harm. Pollution from shipping operations can best be controlled by federal officials with authority over navigation. Approval of state pollution control agencies should be obtained for all preliminary plans for the steel mill and satellite factories before the location of buildings and equipment is determined and for all detailed construction plans before building is commenced. Sewage and waste treatment systems should include factors of safety and standby units to keep to a minimum the possibility of human or mechanical failure in their operation. The federal government should assign to the area an adequate staff of inspection and enforcement officers to control pollution caused by shipping operations.

Modern steel mill operation provides for extracting from smoke and fumes the chemical and physical components which make them dangerous and annoying. The recovered material can be reused in the mill or sold. These recovery systems, however, cannot be expected to be 100 per cent efficient at all times. The effects of air pollution would be felt to the northeast of the mill during most of the time and for several miles, certainly beyond the borders of the town where it would originate.

Workable and effective ordinances regulating smoke and fumes nuisances have been enacted and enforced in several industrial areas of the country. The General Assembly should either establish a uniform smoke and fumes control code which any municipality could adopt or give to any municipality authority to prepare and adopt smoke and fumes control ordinances. The State Health Department should be given authority to regulate smoke and fumes discharges for the protection of the health and comfort of people in the affected area.

The steel mill would be as noisy as the heavy industrial areas of several Connecticut cities and many of the units of the mill would operate day and night seven days a week. Any known devices for noise reduction should be incorporated in the design and construction of a mill located in an area where similar heavy industry does not exist. The General Assembly should authorize municipalities to enact noise reduction ordinances.

More Health Services Needed

All of the many and varied activities of local and state health departments would need to be expanded. There is only one full-time health officer in New London County. The city of New London and nearby towns should be encouraged to establish one or more health districts under existing legislation and to provide adequate finances and staff for such districts. With the advice and assistance of the State Department of Health, these districts could develop programs to meet public health problems as they arise.

New industrial, commercial and residential development resulting from erection of the steel mill would reduce the areas in eastern Connecticut now used or available for shore cottages, bathing, fishing, hunting and passive recreation. At best there would be some adverse effect on recreation from water and air pollution. At the same time the enlarged population would mean an increased number of persons in search of recreation.

A considerable portion of eastern Connecticut is unsuited for the specialized and intensive type of agriculture practiced in the state and lends itself to development for many forms of recreation. The General Assembly should consider implementing at an accelerated pace plans of the State Park and Forest Commission for greater use of Rocky Neck State Park and Beach in East Lyme and for a new state park and beach east of New London. Programs should be carried out for reforestation on an increasing scale to provide in the near future for recreational needs and on a longer range basis for the economic betterment of the region. This should be done on both publicly and privately owned land.

Schools in New London County, in which Waterford is located, are now filled to capacity. Half are more than 50 years old. One was built only three years after George Washington vacated the presidency. The influx of new people would mean an extensive school building program not only in the new sections of the towns but also in the older sections since residents would doubtless not be satisfied with the old schools for their children.

The selection of sites for new schools best suited for both immediate and future needs of the communities would be difficult. The towns should give serious consideration to joining together in districts, as permitted by the general statutes, for advantageous location and operation of both elementary and secondary schools so that facilities may be provided at minimum cost.

Existing state and town roads, with the correction of one narrow underpass, are adequate for movement of personnel and freight to the proposed steel mill and satellite factories.

An increase in police protection would be imperative should the steel mill materialize. New London and Groton have the only organized police departments in the area.

Increase in Police

The General Assembly has authorized the state police commissioner to assign men from his force as resident state policemen within a town. This expedient, with other state police service when necessary, could be used to advantage temporarily until formal police departments are organized in the towns which get the bulk of new residents. The General Assembly has fixed a limit of ten to the number of resident state policemen that may be so assigned. Two are now serving in such capacity. The total number of state policemen now on duty equals the maximum permitted by law. The General Assembly therefore should consider increasing the number of state policemen.

Fire protection in New London County except in New London and

Norwich is provided by volunteer fire departments. The steel mill would provide adequate fire fighting facilities for its own needs. Fire protection, however, would have to be extended to wider areas. Availability of water would be a factor. More men, volunteer or paid, and more equipment would be required. As the towns expand their fire fighting personnel and augment their equipment, they should integrate their plans so that available facilities can be concentrated effectively in any part of the area. Rigid fire prevention inspection services should be provided for industrial, commercial and residential buildings and operations, particularly to supplement the work of volunteer fire departments.

Adequate assessment of industrial property is always a problem, particularly in the smaller towns which do not have technically trained, full-time assessing staffs. The determination, as required by law, of the fair market value of a huge steel mill, and its stores of raw materials and finished products, would be a difficult task for any assessor.

The need for schools, health facilities, sewers and other community facilities would develop prior to the time that municipalities would benefit from tax return on new property, partly because of the lag in assessment and collection.

Some towns would have to provide community facilities without getting any tax benefit from new industrial and commercial building. The State Tax Department should develop methods of making available to towns trained technical appraisers, as it now provides auditors. The General As-

sembly should consider whether the state should make funds available to the towns for constructing community facilities prior to their getting full benefit of increased assessments. The possibility of federal aid for areas directly concerned with defense activity should be carefully explored.

Very few towns in eastern Connecticut have established municipal planning or zoning commissions. Only recently has any of those communities employed technical help in zoning or planning. New London is the only town or city in eastern Connecticut which has adopted a building code. Norwich and Willimantic regulate the installation of sanitary fixtures. The value of community planning and zoning and of regulating building and plumbing practices has been proved in Connecticut and elsewhere. The rules can be adapted for every kind and size of community and can serve small towns as well as large cities. Community planning and zoning serve to attract new industry, commercial establishments and residences as well as to guide the location and development of them in the best interest of everyone concerned.

Planning Imperative

All the towns and cities in the area should provide planning commissions, establish zoning ordinances, adopt building, electrical and plumbing codes and enact ordinances requiring that sewage disposal facilities of all new buildings be approved by the local health officer. Groups of contiguous municipalities should provide a method for integration of plans, zoning and construction codes to pro-

(Continued on page 593)

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . .

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Elections Increase Manager Totals

*Sixty Places Added
Thus Far in 1951*

NOVEMBER referenda on adoption of the council-manager plan bring the total increase thus far this year to 60 and the grand total to 1,067.

Rome, New York, (1950 population 41,682) voted on November 6 to adopt a council-manager charter, 4,971 to 4,597. It will replace the existing mayor-council form, but not until January 1, 1954, after the expiration of the terms of newly-elected officials. The charter was advocated by two taxpayer organizations and by the *Sentinel*, local daily newspaper. Democratic and Republican city chairmen, on several occasions, interrupted their exchange of charges during the municipal campaign to issue joint statements in opposition to the council-manager plan. The council under the new plan will consist of nine members elected at large, each voter voting for six.

Two Kentucky cities—**Owensboro** (1950 population 33,651) and **Maysville** (8,632) adopted the council-manager plan on November 6 by popular vote.

La Grange, Illinois, (12,002) has adopted the council-manager plan.

In **Delaware, Ohio**, (11,804) a council-manager charter was adopted by a vote of 1,639 to 1,105. It was drafted by a commission of fifteen elected in November 1950 and goes into effect January 1, 1954. The new council will consist of four members elected by wards for two-year terms and three at large for four-year terms; thereafter the terms of all councilmen will be four years.

Voters of **Aurora, Colorado**, (11,421) have adopted the council-manager plan.

Graham, Texas, (6,742) has adopted the council-manager plan.

On November 13, at a special election, voters of **Granite Falls, Minnesota**, (2,511) adopted a council-manager amendment to their city charter. The vote was 290 to 154.

Two Pennsylvania places—**Penn Township** (25,280) and **Tarentum** (9,540)—have recently adopted the council-manager plan by ordinance, according to the International City Managers' Association, which has also added to its official list two **California** cities—**Pomona** (35,405) and **Culver City** (19,720)—which had adopted the plan previously.

Dover, New Hampshire, which has been under council-manager government since 1948, will change to the mayor-council plan on January 1, 1952, as the result of a vote of 2,720 to 2,357 on November 6 for a new charter. The mayor, to be elected in December, will have general executive powers and will appoint most of the department heads, subject to approval of the council. The latter will consist of nine members, five elected by wards and four at large. The police department will be under a bipartisan commission of three, appointed by the governor. The Citizens Civic Committee campaigned to save the council-manager plan, losing by a narrow margin.

In **Keene, New Hampshire**, where the council-manager plan was placed in effect in 1948, the voters discarded it at the November 6 election, 2,802 to 2,160. The mayor-council form takes effect January 1, 1952; the council will consist of two members from each of five wards.

The Business and Professional

Women's Club and the Chamber of Commerce of Plymouth, New Hampshire, recently held a joint dinner meeting to discuss council-manager government. Speakers presented arguments both for and against the plan.

The Marblehead, Massachusetts, Taxpayers Association has established a committee to investigate the town manager plan and the representative town meeting.

In Lynn, Massachusetts, the statutory Plan E—council-manager but now without proportional representation—was defeated on November 6 by a narrow margin, 18,881 to 18,567.

In Montclair, New Jersey, a council-manager proposal was defeated on November 6 by 6,383 votes to 5,640. The total number of voters at the polls on all issues was 14,696. Similar proposals lost in 1943 by 230 votes out of 13,246 and in 1924 by 928 out of 5,066. Montclair is at present under the commission plan. The charter rejected this time was selected by a charter commission, elected in November 1950, from among the options provided by state law.

In Warren, Ohio, on November 6 a charter commission, of fifteen was elected to draft a charter during the coming year. The council-manager plan is expected to be followed.

A new charter giving the council power to appoint a city manager has been approved by the voters of Haper Woods, Michigan. They also elected a council majority in sympathy with the new charter and the council-manager plan.

Voters of Plymouth, Michigan, a council-manager city since 1918, approved a new council-manager charter on October 1 by a vote of 460 to 166.

A campaign for the council-manager plan has been started in Waukegan, Illinois, by the Lake County Civic League.

Proposals have been advanced in the

adjoining cities of Champaign and Urbana, Illinois, for consolidation under the council-manager plan. Champaign now has the commission plan and Urbana a mayor and board of aldermen.

Brookfield, Illinois, which has operated under a manager ordinance since 1947, adopted the state's statutory council-manager plan at the polls on November 10 by an overwhelming majority—1,662 to 135. More people voted at this special election than turned out for the regular election last April. Brookfield is the first village in Illinois and the first municipality in Cook County to act under the state's optional law. The election cost the village practically nothing since 50 persons donated their time and ten polling places were furnished free of charge.

In Pine Bluff, Arkansas, a special Chamber of Commerce committee has been investigating the council-manager plan, with the possibility of recommending it for that city.

All three members of the city commission of Olathe, Kansas, have endorsed the council-manager idea, following a series of articles on the subject in the Olathe *Democrat*.

A council-manager proposal in Elwood, Kansas, failed of adoption on November 6.

In San Antonio, Texas, on November 13 a council of nine was elected under the city's new council-manager charter. All successful candidates were supported by advocates of the new charter and obtained majorities so that no run-off election is necessary.

The Exchange Club of El Paso, Texas, has adopted a resolution urging early adoption of the council-manager plan and has presented it to Mayor Fred Hervey, who pledged his administration to a rewriting of the city charter along council-manager lines.

In Brawley, California, a council-manager ordinance was defeated on November 6 by a vote of 488 to 395.

Riverside, California, has elected a board of freeholders to draft a new charter. It is reported that a majority are favorable to the council-manager plan.

Sarnia, Ontario, which voted in favor of the council-manager plan in December 1950, is now operating under the plan.

Phoenix Voters Sustain Good Government

In its first test at the polls, the present council-manager government of Phoenix, Arizona, on November 13 was overwhelmingly endorsed by the voters. Re-elected for another two years were the incumbent mayor and six councilmen.

Since they assumed office in January 1950, the present elective officers, in conjunction with City Manager Ray W. Wilson, have provided Phoenix with the most effective municipal government in its history.¹ Although council-manager government was established in Phoenix in 1914, it did not operate successfully until the amendment of the city charter in 1948 to eliminate several inherent weaknesses and the election of the present mayor and council a year later.

A slate of seven candidates challenged the right of the incumbent mayor and councilmen to govern Phoenix. The opposition platform, which included ten points, recommended adoption of the ward system of electing councilmen and partisan elections in place of the nonpartisan ballot. It also criticized the administration for its selection of out-of-state residents to head four of the twelve administrative departments.

Despite a relatively unexciting campaign, 21,762 voters, or 47 per cent of the registration of 46,121, cast ballots. Individual totals of the victors ranged from 16,381 to a high of 18,016; those of the opposition from 3,722 to 5,405. The incumbents led in all 65 precincts except one, where an opposition councilmanic candidate obtained a slight lead. The Charter Government Committee, which had disbanded following its campaign in 1949 to elect the present mayor and council, was reorganized to support them a second time in the 1951 election.

Voting machines, rented from the county government, were used in Phoenix city elections for the first time.

An attempt, by initiative petition, to submit the question of a ward system to the voters at the November election proved unsuccessful when a superior court on October 17 ordered Phoenix officials not to place the proposed charter amendment on the ballot. The court held that there were insufficient signatures on the petitions because of fraud, forgery and false swearing. A Council for District Government, headed by one of the opposition candidates for the city council, circulated the ward system petitions.

The recent victory will give the administration the opportunity to engage in long-term planning and to provide continuity of management. In the course of the past two years, the administration has reorganized the city's administrative departments, installed numerous new procedures, strengthened the managerial and planning agencies, effected improvements in municipal services, equipment and physical plant, and reduced tax rates. There has been a surplus in the municipal till at the end of each of the past two fiscal years.

PAUL KELSO

University of Arizona

¹See "Phoenix Makes New Start," by Paul Kelso, the REVIEW, September 1950, page 383.

Boston, Philadelphia Elect under New Charters

On November 6 Boston and Philadelphia held their first municipal elections under their new charters, previously noted in this department. In Boston Mayor John B. Hynes was re-elected by a majority of 77,389 over James M. Curley, former mayor, these two candidates having emerged from an elimination election in September, as provided by the new charter. In addition five out of the nine city council members and four out of five school committee members elected, on nonpartisan ballots, were among those supported by the New Boston Committee, a group which has advocated the new charter.

In Philadelphia a political overturn occurred with the election of Joseph S. Clark, Jr., and Richardson Dilworth, Democrats, as mayor and district attorney, respectively, and the election of fourteen Democrats and three Republicans to the council. Under provisions of the new charter, the voters chose ten councilmen by districts, electing nine Democrats and one Republican; and seven at large, five Democrats and two Republicans. In the election of at large candidates, the limited vote applied, each voter casting his ballot for five.

Charter Commissions Chosen in New Jersey

In Jersey City and Hoboken, both in Hudson County, New Jersey, charter commissions were elected on November 6 under the provisions of the state optional charters law. The vote in Jersey City was 25,935 to 14,635; that in Hoboken 6,441 to 2,101. In Jersey City five charter commission candidates sponsored by the organization headed by Mayor John V. Kenny ran unopposed.

The commissions could recommend either continuation of the present gov-

ernment of the cities concerned, the commission plan, or choose one of the state's optional charters—varying forms of the council-manager and strong-mayor plans are provided—for submission to the voters at a referendum election.

The Jersey City charter commission proposal was viewed as an effort to block a referendum on a change to the mayor-council form, petitions for which were filed by supporters of ex-Mayor Frank Hague before final adoption of the council's ordinance for election of a charter commission. By court decision, rendered after the election, the referendum on the mayor-council plan was upheld and is scheduled for December 11, leaving the status of the charter commission up in the air.

New Charter Sought in Tacoma

The city council of Tacoma, Washington, has authorized a freeholders' election for charter revision next March. In April 1951 Mayor John Anderson appointed a committee to study the needs for charter revision, headed by Hugh J. Tudor, president of the Municipal League of Tacoma, which submitted a report this fall.

Yonkers City Pay Referendum Loses

The proposal to compel the city government of Yonkers, New York, to pay each of 1,500 employees \$500 more per annum¹ was defeated two to one in a referendum vote on November 6.

One factor in its defeat was a series of editorials in the *Yonkers Herald Statesman* which said that, in addition to requiring a substantial added tax—probably a 2 per cent sales tax—the

¹See the REVIEW, November 1951, page 536.

proposal would freeze payrolls into the city charter, would grant uniform pay increases regardless of individual merit or need, with the increased pay in many instances exceeding prevailing wages for similar work in private employment, and would prevent city officials from exercising discretion and judgment in a basically administrative matter. The proposal excluded 830 teachers and 283 other employees of the Board of Education from the \$500 boost but it had been predicted that a similar increase for these would necessarily follow.

A corresponding proposal of police and firemen in Kingston, New York, for a raise of \$1,000 per annum, by popular vote, was ruled invalid by the city attorney as not specifying the means of raising the necessary revenue; this ruling was appealed to the courts and sustained by the Court of Appeals as well as by two lower courts.

Detroit Votes Four-year Terms, Pension Benefits

On November 6 the voters of Detroit approved a charter amendment providing four-year terms for all principal elective city officials, starting in 1954. They failed, however, to approve a separate proposition for four-year terms for constables. Thus there will be special elections for constables, starting in 1955, at a reported cost of \$200,000.

Pension benefits for city employees were increased. For police and firemen disability allowances are made tax-free and pension benefits of widows of men dying in service after they could retire are protected. The latter provision was also made applicable for other city employees, together with cost-of-living adjustments for pensioners and an increase in the pension maximum.

A proposal to increase council salaries from \$5,000 to \$7,000 per year was defeated. A new street and traffic

commission was authorized, to consist of four men appointed by the mayor for four-year terms. City agencies handling street and traffic matters are reduced from fifteen to five.

Council Sessions Broadcast in Minot, North Dakota

The city council of Minot, North Dakota, has approved a request of radio station KLPM for permission to broadcast its sessions. Mayor C. H. Kiehn cast the deciding vote, the council of twelve members being divided equally on the question.

Town Elects Dead Man as Supervisor

Although he died two days before the election, Leslie E. Maxwell was overwhelmingly elected town supervisor of Cambridge, New York, on November 6. A successor was to be chosen by the town board—all of whose members were reported to want the job.

Wage Referenda Results Vary

A number of referendum proposals to increase wages of municipal employees, especially police and firemen, were held on November 6. Out of eleven held in northern New Jersey municipalities, increases were voted in Bayonne, Bloomfield, Bound Brook, Closter, Deal, Fort Lee, Hillside, Roselle, Weehawken and Westwood. Belleville defeated a pay-rise proposal. Seven communities—Englewood, Fort Lee, Garwood, Lakewood, Lyndhurst, Neptune and West Orange—established a 40-hour week for policemen.

Voters of Bridgeport, Connecticut, turned down a pay increase proposal for police and firemen.

Texas Municipal League Holds Annual Meeting

At its annual meeting, October 21-24, the League of Texas Municipalities

adopted several resolutions, including a statement of policy, stressing home rule and adequate revenue sources; pledges of cooperation with state and national agencies for civil defense and disaster relief and with the Texas Legislative Council on municipal problems (the legislature this year having requested the council to study revenue and other municipal matters as recommended by the league); and for establishment of a state communications commission to regulate long-distance telephone rates and assist cities in regulating local telephone rates.

Armistead Rust, mayor of San Angelo, was elected president for 1951-52.

New York Amendments Carry by Big Vote

Eight constitutional amendments were adopted by the voters of New York State on November 6 by majorities of from three to one to eight to one:

(1) Assures voters in military service and their families the right to absentee ballots, whether or not the country is at war;

(2) Exempts service personnel and inmates of veterans' hospitals from personal registration;

(3) Empowers the legislature to increase pensions for retired public employees;

(4) Pledges state credit for a maximum of \$500,000,000 in Throughway bonds;

(5) Permits the Court of Appeals to hear appeals from non-final orders of the Appellate Division involving public agencies;

(6) Enables New York City to borrow \$500,000,000 outside the debt limit to build the Second Avenue subway, with another \$2,500,000 of state aid each year to pay debt service on money borrowed for building public schools;

(7) Increases jurisdiction of the

city court of New York from \$3,000 to \$6,000, to clear congestion in the Supreme Court calendar;

(8) Permits judges of the Court of Appeals and Supreme Court justices to serve in the armed forces without resigning their judicial posts and authorizes the legislature to provide temporary replacements.

Illinois Legislature Aids Reorganization

Some 78 of 166 bills sponsored by the Illinois "Little Hoover" Commission have passed both houses of the 1951 legislature, reports the Council of State Governments. Among the more important were measures streamlining state civil service procedures, transferring the Division of Parks to the Department of Conservation as a first step in establishing a new Department of Natural Resources and Conservation, consolidating the various ex-officio election boards into a single state electoral board, and revising the powers of certain code departments. Also adopted were about a dozen bills resulting from the commission's findings but not introduced under its sponsorship, for example, a new state mental health code.

New Hampshire Establishes Legislative Council

The General Court (legislature) of New Hampshire has created a legislative council to work on legislative matters between sessions. The council is composed of three senators, nine house members and three private citizens. It is to prepare a legislative program on major state problems for the next session and consider matters referred to it by the legislature, the governor and his council.

Connecticut River Compact Ratified

The legislatures of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Ver-

mont have ratified the Connecticut River Flood Control Compact, which contemplates a system of public works to prevent flood damage in the river valley. Consent of Congress must be secured to make the agreement effective.

Constitutional Change Blocked in Kentucky

Despite valiant efforts of the League of Women Voters and others a proposed constitutional amendment to make amendment of the Kentucky constitution easier was badly defeated on November 6. The so-called Committee of One Thousand, which was weak in numbers but strong in finances, was revived to oppose the amendment. This group had fought the 1947 effort to call a constitutional convention. The amendment would have removed the present restriction against more than two amendments being submitted at one time and would have permitted the grouping of two or more amendments for a single vote.

Pennsylvania Outlaws Veterans' Preference for Promotion

A recent decision of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court nullified the ten-point bonus added to veterans' scores in promotion tests, provided for under the state's civil service law, according to the Civil Service Assembly. However, veterans' preference as it affects original appointments was sustained. This preference—ten points added to the grade—is given to disabled and non-disabled veterans alike, provided they score a passing grade on the initial examination.

The court assumed that military service gives veterans special fitness for public employment but that such an assumption does not apply in the case of promotion. Three justices dissented from this distinction.

First New York State Building Code Issued

The New York State Building Code Commission has promulgated its first code under the state building code law. It is applicable to one- and two-family dwellings and has an effective date of November 1, 1951.

Any municipality of the state may adopt the code by resolution and may withdraw applicability, if it so desires, at any time after one year of its adoption, under conditions set forth in the law. The code will be enforced by local building officials, who will be afforded consultative and technical services by the commission.

As required by the law, the code is formulated in terms of "performance objectives," in contrast to the specification codes in general use in about 350 municipalities in New York and in approximately two thousand municipalities in other states. It defines the objectives to be attained in terms of structure, sanitation, fire prevention and other forms of safety, without freezing into law specific methods or means of attaining safety.

The commission announced that it has started preparation of a multi-family dwelling code, to be issued next year, followed by a comprehensive code covering all types of building. The codes will be kept up to date by the commission, thus freeing municipalities of the burden and expense of drafting, promulgating, amending and otherwise servicing an individual local code.

Merit System Study Planned in Georgia

The Georgia Merit System of Personnel Administration and the Atlanta branch of the University of Georgia have made arrangements for carrying out research projects in merit system administration, according to the Council of State Governments. The plans call for the staff of the university to

conduct research in areas suggested by the state merit system director. The results will be submitted to him for such use as he considers desirable.

Nebraska Legislative and Constitutional Proposals

The legislature of Nebraska has authorized referenda at the 1952 election on two proposed constitutional amendments, according to the Council of State Governments: one to raise legislators' salaries from \$872 to \$1,250 per annum, the other to create an elected six-member State Board of Education with power to appoint a commissioner of education, replacing the presently elective superintendent of public instruction.

The legislature has asked the Legislative Council to study the state taxation program and the question of annual legislative sessions.

Unicameral Legislature Sought by Missouri Group

A Missouri legislature of one house only, as in Nebraska, has received fresh support in the form of the Missouri Committee for One-house Legislature, headed by David Larkin, retired businessman. He has announced that petitions will be circulated to have the proposal presented for adoption as a constitutional amendment at the general election in November 1952.

Freezing Senate Size Proposed in Colorado

The Colorado Legislative Committee on Reapportionment has announced it will submit to the next session of the legislature a proposed constitutional amendment to provide Senate representation on a geographical basis instead of the present population basis. The population basis would be retained for the lower house. The Senate apportionment would be frozen as it now stands, regardless of future changes in population. Under-repre-

sentation of Denver and other growing urban areas would thus tend to become more and more extreme.

The amendment would also establish senatorial and representative districts; each voter would vote for one senator and one representative.

Congress Takes Action on Funds for Civil Defense

Final congressional action on the national civil defense appropriation amounted to a reduction to \$74,945,000 from the administration's request for \$535,000,000 for the 1951-52 fiscal year. The Senate had sought to increase to \$97,635,000 the House figure of \$65,255,000.¹ The final action awarded \$56,000,000 for emergency supplies and facilities, \$11,195,000 for operations and \$7,750,000 for contributions. Nothing was granted for protective facilities or for a procurement fund.

The Federal Civil Defense Administration has made allocations (up to October) to eleven states of about one-third of \$20,000,000 provided in the appropriation for fiscal 1951 for first-aid stations and medical stockpiling. The funds must be matched by the states, with or without municipal help.

Many Attend Civil Service Conference

The 1951 conference of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, held in Detroit in October, was attended by 686 public personnel people, including 51 Canadians and a dozen from outside continental United States. A popular innovation consisted of evening "work-shop sessions" of small groups desiring to discuss a particular problem. Elected as president was Charles H. Cushman, personnel administrator of Rhode Island.

¹See the REVIEW, October 1951, page 480.

County and Township*Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck***Philadelphia Gets Consolidation*****State Voters Approve Constitution Amendment***

THE constitutional amendment consolidating the city and county governments of Philadelphia was overwhelmingly approved by the voters of Pennsylvania on November 6. Within the city the vote was 198,978 to 19,034. The proposal had previously been approved by the state legislature in 1949 and 1951. A similar proposal was defeated in a referendum in 1937.

The first step in consolidation was taken in 1854 when, under an act of consolidation, the boundaries of the city were made the same as those of the county and most of the local governments in the area were wiped out. Many county functions were turned over to the city. County officers, however, retained certain important functions, including the conduct of elections, assessment of property for local taxation, construction of county buildings and jails, recording of deeds and mortgages and the probating of wills. Eleven county officials were elective. County officers spent city tax funds to aid military and veterans' organizations and for some forms of public welfare.

All county offices, formerly the big prizes in local politics, are now merged with the city. Their employees, formerly appointed as a reward for political services, will come under the city's civil service provisions.

The 1951 amendment is in part self-enacting but certain enabling legislation must be passed by the state legislature to make consolidation complete.

Cities and Counties Cooperate on Planning, First Aid

Officials of Oakland County and the city of Pontiac, Michigan, are considering construction of a city-county office building. It would be under the jurisdiction of an authority which would finance the construction by issuance of revenue bonds. The bonds would be retired from rentals charged the occupying agencies.

In the state of Washington, Chelan County and the city of Wenatchee pooled resources to hire a professional planning consultant to aid in coping with the problem of rapid expansion in population. The development of a \$55,000,000 aluminum plant and several large dams is resulting in a population increase of approximately a thousand persons per year in and around Wenatchee, a city with a 1950 population of 13,072. Faced with this fact, city and county officials have adopted regulations establishing an emergency zone around the city, conducted an aerial survey for the preparation of a new base map, and made an intensive study of all existing school facilities. This type of planning is the first of its kind in the state and is being watched with great interest by other cities and counties.

Santa Clara County, California, and San Jose have completed the first year of operation of their joint emergency first-aid station. The station is supervised by a board of seven members appointed by the city council, county commissioners and county medical society. No charges are made at the station but the list of county cases are forwarded to the county which then bills county patients for the service. The station is operated on a 24-hour basis.

Manager Vote Scheduled for Princess Anne County

Following the filing of petitions signed by some 1,730 voters, the County Circuit Court has ordered election officials of Princess Anne County, Virginia, to hold a referendum January 15 on adoption of the county executive plan. The order followed testimony to the effect that at least 10 per cent of the qualified voters of the county had signed the referendum petition.

The county executive plan is one of several optional laws available to Virginia counties. It differs from the state's optional county manager law in one important respect: the county executive does not have power of appointment of administrative officials but makes recommendations to the board of supervisors.

Charter Changes Discussed for Arlington County

The Arlington County, Virginia, League of Women Voters recently conducted its third annual Institute of Local Government at which numerous changes in its council-manager form of government were recommended. Richard S. Childs of the National Municipal League told the institute that changes should be effected to bring "those separate little islands of power—offices of treasurer, commissioner of revenue, sheriff and county clerk—under the jurisdiction of your county manager and your county board. It is a sheer myth that the people hold these officers responsible for carrying out their duties. They are technical jobs and should be done by people responsible to the manager."

Professor George Spicer of the University of Virginia told the institute he believed Arlington should not become an incorporated city at this time, as is being urged by many persons. A former chairman of the county board urged discontinuance of annual elec-

tions in favor of longer terms for board members.

The League of Women Voters plans to press for changing the tenure of the manager from one year to an indefinite period, transferring power of appointment of administrative heads from the county board to the manager and establishing a new office of legal counsel entirely separate from the office of commonwealth's attorney.¹

Baltimore County Again Talks of Home Rule

A Voters League has been organized in Baltimore County, Maryland, for the purpose of circulating a petition to place the question of a home rule charter on the ballot in November 1952. A similar effort failed in 1950 because of insufficiency in the number of signatures obtained.

The league announced it would favor adoption of a council-manager form of government, which brought immediate reaction from the three county commissioners in opposition to the proposal. The president of the board stated: "I believe in keeping government in the hands of the people. The county manager system takes it out of their hands. If the county manager operates under a group of commissioners, it gives the commissioners a chance to escape their responsibilities. This form of government is a trend away from true democracy, which has worked pretty well in this country since the days of George Washington."

¹See the REVIEW, November 1951, page 539.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—In 1792 George Washington declared: "It has always been my opinion, and still is so, that the administration of the affairs of the Federal City (Washington, D. C.) ought to be under the immediate direction of a judicious and skillful superintendent, appointed by and subject to the orders of the commissioners, who in the eyes of the law are the responsible characters. One in whom

is united knowledge of men and things, industry, integrity, impartiality and firmness. And that this person should reside on the spot."

Women's League to Study County Government

The League of Women Voters of New Jersey has begun a study of county government to determine its effectiveness in the over-all government structure. Techniques and methods of conducting the survey are being discussed and it is anticipated that the project will last two years. Health and welfare services, county finance and the place of the political party organization in the county are among the topics to be studied.

Jackson County, Missouri, Wins Award

Jackson County, Missouri, recently received the Municipal Finance Officers Association Certificate of Conformance for its 1950 annual financial report. This award is given for financial reports that meet the high standards established jointly by the association and the National Committee on Governmental Accounting. Jackson is the first county ever to receive the award, although it previously has been granted to the city and county of Honolulu and to 22 other municipalities.

Los Angeles County Fire Protection Districts Studied

A survey and description of the rather novel organization built up by the Los Angeles County fire protection districts, in conjunction with the county forester and the fire warden department, have been issued by the Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California.¹ Prepared by

James Trump and Morton Kroll, the study points out that the county's fire protection districts comprise a unique type of governmental organization brought about to serve a pressing need in unincorporated communities—many of them large and well populated.

"In recent years," say the authors, "with the urbanization of the Los Angeles metropolitan area there has been a steady, inevitable movement away from the special district idea in the fire protection field. . . . The trend is toward consolidation of fire protection districts and the time when the consolidated district will embrace all of the county territory is no longer in the indeterminate future. The fire protection needs of the district are becoming increasingly uniform and, as such, lend themselves to a centralized fire protection service."

IF BIG STEEL COMES TO TOWN by Richard Martin

(Continued from page 582)

vide a high degree of uniformity.

The State Development Commission through its Planning and Research Division should continue to make technical assistance available to the towns and cities. Planning and zoning should regulate trailer camps and temporary housing. It should consider the likelihood that new trading centers will develop where parking is no problem. It should guide residential construction so as to reduce the cost of municipal facilities such as water, sewers, schools, highways, policing and fire fighting.

Thus far the new steel mill has not materialized. Nevertheless, the work of the committee has paved the way for dealing with the problems of future industrial expansion in a well populated state whose resources of land and water are limited.

¹*County Administered Fire Protection. A Case Study in a Metropolitan Area, 1951. 86 pages.*

Proportional Representation

*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Ohio, Massachusetts Cities Hold P. R. Elections

Eight Councils, Six School Committees Chosen by Voters

NOVEMBER 6 marked the fourteenth use of P. R. for the election of the city council in Cincinnati and the thirteenth in its neighboring city of Hamilton, Ohio. In Massachusetts Cambridge chose its sixth P. R. council, Lowell its fifth, and four cities—Worcester, Medford, Quincy and Revere—used the system for the second time. School committees were also chosen by the Hare system in the Massachusetts cities.

Below are accounts of the elections in Cincinnati and Lowell. Others will be published in succeeding months.

Cincinnati Holds 14th P. R. Election

Cincinnati's fourteenth municipal election under the Hare system of P. R., on November 6, resulted in the re-election of the eight incumbent councilmen—four Charter, four Organization Republican—making the race.

The ninth and controlling seat, held by Charles P. Taft, Charter majority leader, who declined renomination in order to run for governor of Ohio next year, was won by an Organization Republican, Donald D. ("Lower the Boom") Clancy. Clancy, a 30-year-old lawyer, startled Cincinnati's otherwise sophisticated electorate with a sound truck, bill board, poster and newspaper advertising campaign that apparently developed the greatest money expenditure for a council race thus far recorded in the city's history.

Control of Cincinnati's council re-

turned to the local Republican Organization after four years of admittedly successful and progressive Charter leadership. Mayor Albert D. Cash, Charter stalwart and recipient of the highest number of first-choice votes, stepped down December 1 to make way for Carl W. Rich, who in 1947 served for ten months as interim mayor following the appointment of his predecessor to the Ohio Supreme Court.

Few if any changes of significance in the city's administrative setup are expected to follow as a result of the election. From time to time City Manager W. R. Kellogg has been reported by city hall newspapermen as looking forward to retirement. Kellogg, however, was originally appointed in 1944 by an Organization Republican council majority and the new majority is expected to urge him to stay on.

Although the election result has been interpreted variously by political writers for the Cincinnati newspapers, all apparently agree that had Floor Leader Taft run again, the Charter group would have retained its majority. He has been one of the Charter group's most active campaigners.

Bad weather, the worst in the city's municipal elections history, severely handicapped the Charter forces, made up primarily of volunteer housewives and labor union supporters of Councilman Harry D. Proctor. Whereas the paid workers of the Organization Republicans stood in a cold, day-long rain, intermingled with snow, Charter volunteers were reduced to a few hours work in the early morning and late afternoon.

There was one notable exception. In the West End district, populated largely by Negroes, enthusiastic sup-

porters of Charter Councilman Theodore M. Berry, militant civil rights crusader, worked hard to get out votes that heretofore have been predominantly Organization Republican. Berry ranked fourth highest in the final first-choice count.

Nineteen candidates made the race, the Charter group and the local Organization Republican committee both entering full tickets of nine, with one independent. The total first-choice vote was: Organization Republican, 71,075; Charter, 64,359; independent, 677, invalid, 8,371. The total vote cast, 144,682, while nearly 25,000 lower than in 1949, ran 15,000 to 20,000 above predictions made as a result of the bad weather.

Campaign Expenses

The campaign was featured by extremely lavish spending by the Organization Republican campaign committee as well as the supporters of Clancy. This committee reported expenditures of \$50,631, highest in local history, the bulk for payment of ward and precinct executives and election day workers. This contrasted with the Charter total of \$16,716, primarily for newspaper advertising, television and printing of literature.

Lack of a compelling issue after four years of successful leadership handicapped the Charter forces. Meanwhile, Cincinnati voters, comprising what has been for twelve years the arch-Republican city of the nation, apparently responded again to the traditional Organization Republican campaign cry, "You can't have a Republican in the White House unless you put us in city hall," a theme used without exception since the inauguration of Cincinnati's city manager—P. R. government in 1925.

Charles P. Taft's Independent Republican Committee, organized in 1950 to support the senatorial campaign of his brother, Robert A. Taft, entered the fray on behalf of three of the Charter candidates: Mrs. Dorothy Nichols

Dolbey, A. E. Roberts and John H. Stewart. The Independent Republicans hoped that Taft's own first-choice following would transfer to these three. Although Mrs. Dolbey made a surprisingly good showing and on transfers became the Charter group's fifth-place entry, total support for the three failed to equal Taft's repeated showings in earlier P. R. races.

High man for the Organization Republicans was Potter Stewart, son of former Mayor James Garfield Stewart. Stewart and Douglass M. Allen, Jr., a *Times-Star* writer, ran a 1-2 campaign strongly supported by the *Times-Star* and *Enquirer*, both Republican papers.

Poorest showing among the incumbents was that of Jesse D. Locker, Organization Republican Negro and member of council since 1941, whose loss of leadership to Councilman Berry was heavily underscored by final results from the Negro precincts. Locker would undoubtedly have been replaced had it not been for the *Times-Star Enquirer* campaign for white support for Locker.

The *Times-Star*, for instance, warned its followers that several thousand white votes were needed for Locker in order to insure Organization Republican control of the new council. In view of the Organization Republicans' over-all campaign argument that control of the city is necessary to insure election of a Republican president in 1952, it appeared to many Republican voters as though their first-choice vote for Locker, however extraordinary and out of character it might normally be, was an imperative not to be ignored.

Although 140 precincts had been created since the 1949 election, the P. R. count was completed in the usual six-day period. Final results were known Sunday night and declared official Monday noon.

FOREST FRANK, *Executive Director*
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

Stirring Race Marks Lowell's Fifth P. R. Election

The Hare system of P. R., in force under the "Plan E" council-manager charter in Lowell, demonstrated its ability to give measured weight to cross-currents in popular expression in a close election November 6. The contest was referred to by the *Lowell Sun* as "one of the most stirring races in the history of Plan E elections in Lowell."

A total of 34,884 valid ballots was cast in the city council election. The final result was not apparent until near the end of the count, when Councillor Hockmeyer was defeated and former Councillor McMahon elected. The elimination of Councillor Sullivan, who also was defeated near the end of the count, resulted in transfer of a large number of votes to McMahon.

Councillor Janas led in the number of first choices and was first to reach the quota. Councillors Callery and Roy were reelected also and Councillor Ayotte was defeated along with Hockmeyer and Sullivan. Among the new councilmen elected was School Committeeman Beaudry. Evidently the preferences of the voters caused the substitution of some new faces without greatly altering the political complexion of the council.

The concurrent election of a six-man school committee on a separate P. R. ballot was featured by a sticker and write-in movement in favor of a late entry, Richard K. Donahue, which was so successful that he far outdistanced his rivals to secure election directly upon the count of first choices.

Backsliders Suffer from Distortions

Toledo's first municipal election since its repeal of P. R. in 1949 resulted in election of eight Republican candidates and one Democratic candidate to the city council. The outgoing

council consisted of five Democrats and four Republicans. Under the new ward system a shift of comparatively few votes was enough to make the change.

In Long Beach, New York, which repealed P. R. after a short trial a few years ago, the Democratic party candidates made a clean sweep of the five-man council and the Republicans obtained no representation at all although their candidates polled almost a third of the votes.

Yonkers, New York, which abandoned P. R. at the same time as Long Beach, although it did not experience a landslide result such as those in Toledo and Long Beach, was subjected to other effects of non-proportional election systems—a minority party captured control of the city government. The same voters elected a Republican mayor in a city-wide contest and a council composed of seven Democrats and five Republicans in a ward-by-ward contest, the result in several wards being decided by a few dozen or a few score votes. In the twelve wards together, however, Republican candidates for the council polled 29,415 votes whereas their victorious opponents had only 26,174.

Although the mayor has a vote in the city council, the unproportional Democratic victory in the Yonkers council election was enough to wrest control of the council—and under the council-manager plan, of course, of the city government—from the Republicans, whose supporters were less strategically located with respect to district boundaries. Mayor Kristen Kristensen's victory was decisive, with a plurality of 8,016 votes, and represented a personal as well as a party victory. His party uniformly showed a preponderance of votes on a city-wide basis, electing also two justices of the peace and contributing pluralities to county judicial candidates.

Industry Tax Exemption Schemes Flourish

Trend Criticised by Expert on Municipal Finance Matters

RECENT news stories telling of large industrial corporations which have negotiated contracts to move into new plants constructed for them by communities far from the company's former location serve to emphasize a trend toward the granting of extraordinary tax exemptions as an inducement to industry to locate in a given place. Since Mississippi adopted its "Balance Agriculture with Industry" program in the 1930s, a number of states have authorized the granting of tax concessions as an inducement to manufacturing establishments, such concessions ranging from the abatement of ad valorem property taxes for a stated period to the construction of factories with the use of the public credit, and their lease or donation to the favored industry.

Notable among such schemes enacted in the last several years are two 1951 laws authorizing cities to issue bonds for factory construction which will be repayable solely from rentals paid by the new industries occupying the plants. One of these acts, the Tennessee industrial building revenue bond act, was upheld by the Tennessee Supreme Court late in August in a test suit involving the right of the city of Elizabethton to float a \$4,000,000 bond issue to construct a factory there for Textron, Inc., the well known textile concern. According to the Industrial Development Division of the Tennessee State Planning Commission,¹

similar industrial building revenue bond laws have been adopted by Alabama (the other 1951 enactment) and by Florida, Illinois and Kentucky.

Other recent laws granting concessions to new industry have been enacted in Oklahoma and Arizona. The Arizona statute prohibits the taxation ad valorem of manufacturers' inventories and assigns a preferential assessment ratio to factory equipment and machinery. The Oklahoma statute, passed this year, would have substituted for the ad valorem property tax a gross sales tax of one-tenth of one per cent on new industries with initial capitalization of at least \$75,000. It was ruled invalid by the state attorney general, who stated it was in conflict with the uniformity clause of the state constitution.

The Oklahoma case is in line with a slight but perceptible trend to ease up in recent years on outright tax exemption features. These include the shortening of the period of exemption from ten to five years in Louisiana, the repeal of exemption statutes in Virginia and Georgia, the expiration without reenactment of a Wyoming exemption to beet sugar manufacturers, etc.

On the other hand, the organization of public or quasi-public industrial development agencies appears as a new wrinkle, both Maine and New Hampshire having established agencies to provide capital for new enterprises or for the expansion of existing concerns. These agencies assist in the securing of capital through the usual channels and also lend their own funds, usually at an interest rate somewhat higher than would be charged by a private lending institution.

At the same time these newer trends

¹*Tennessee Industrial Planning Newsletter*, October 1, 1951. Tennessee Planning Commission, Nashville 3.

are appearing, the outright use of the public credit to construct and equip new factories continues in Mississippi, the original BAWI program state. Earlier this year the city of Greenville, Mississippi, (population 30,000) issued the first \$3,750,000 of a total of \$4,750,000 of its authorized general obligation, unlimited tax bonds, which had been voted to build a new factory for the Alexander Smith & Sons Carpet Company of Yonkers, New York.

Pending is the issuance of \$6,500,000 general obligation bonds by Meridian, Mississippi, to construct and equip a modern textile factory for Textron Mississippi, Inc., a Textron, Inc., subsidiary. Unlike the revenue bonds, these and other Mississippi local industrial plant bonds are payable from general property taxes if the rentals contracted to be paid by the manufacturing companies are not received.

Issuance of the growing volume of industrial plant bonds by cities is causing considerable concern among business and financial authorities. Not to the liking of many tax specialists are the tax exemption features inherent in the schemes, especially marked inasmuch as the income from the municipal bonds is free from federal income taxes whereas the corporate bonds which would otherwise be issued are taxable. Others foresee fiscal difficulties at the local level as, if and when business conditions alter the fortunes of the new industries occupying the plants.

Pertinent on this point are the comments of David M. Wood, distinguished partner of the well known firm of municipal bond attorneys, Wood, King & Dawson of New York city. He noted that three previous periods of extensive municipal financial distress and default on municipal bonds had followed the extensive use of state and local credit to aid private industry: in the early 1800s,

following borrowing for canals and toll roads; following the Civil War when railroad aid bonds were the cause of the trouble; and following the real estate boom of the 1920s when use of special assessment bonds to install facilities for real estate speculators led to the building up of a large debt intended to be repaid by those benefited but actually either paid from general taxes or not paid at all. Mr. Wood asked:

"Are we witnessing the beginning of a new period of public aid to private enterprise? Are municipalities again going to incur burdensome debts in an effort to bring about universal prosperity by giving aid to the promoters? . . . Will our grandchildren say of us, as has been said of our ancestors, that our intentions were laudable but our judgment was bad?"

Fewer Fiscal Issues Before Voters in 1951

Voters were confronted on November 6 with a considerably smaller assortment of fiscal measures than in recent years, according to preliminary returns. State bond issues to pay soldiers' bonuses, which had dominated earlier postwar fall election calendars, were absent this year and there seemed to be a smaller assortment of the usual bond proposals and constitutional amendments.

The biggest dollar stake before the voters was in New York, where two of the eight constitutional amendments approved had to do with state and local debt. One considerably alters the borrowing power of cities, counties and school districts and confers authority on New York City to incur up to \$500,000,000 for additional transit (subway

"Public Aid to Private Interests Poor Policy, Record Shows," by David M. Wood. *The Daily Bond Buyer*, New York. October 31, 1951.

system) debt outside the debt limit. Another permits the state to pledge its full faith and credit to the payment of up to \$500,000,000 of bonds for the New York State Thruway. Previously the Thruway Authority had been authorized to issue its revenue bonds for the purpose, to be supported solely from tolls. The pledge of the state's credit in addition will result in a substantially lower interest cost than would be possible with revenue bonds.

Only state other than New York to consider a bond issue was New Jersey, where the voters approved \$15,000,000 for buildings for the state teachers' college. In Pennsylvania, where an amendment was approved to authorize city and county consolidation in Philadelphia, a companion measure revising the debt limits was also approved.

New York City Sales Tax Yield Off

The slump in retailing which is plaguing some of the nation's merchants threatens to unbalance New York City's 1951-52 budget. According to an interim report of the city comptroller, collections of the city sales tax, next most important revenue after the property tax, are running well behind budget estimates.

The city sales tax was raised from 2 to 3 per cent beginning May 1, the increase being expected to raise 1951-52 sales tax collections \$60,000,000 to a total of \$208,000,000 for the year. For the first quarter—July, August and September, 1951—sales tax receipts were \$42,299,359, or about \$3,200,000 less than the estimated yield for the period of \$45,000,000. For the first quarter of 1950-51, with the rate at 2 per cent, the yield had been \$30,409,684. The city, like the merchants, is hoping that retail sales in November and December will move upward to at least offset the earlier lag in tax receipts.

Welfare Roll Publicity — a Return to Earlier Reporting?

Are we to see a return to the type of public financial reporting of an earlier day, when the published "financial statements" of many governmental units consisted mainly of page after page listing the names of persons and concerns to which funds had been disbursed during the year and the amounts of such payments? Perhaps, if the recent trend toward publicity of the public welfare rolls becomes extensive.

Commenting on the action of Indiana, Georgia and Illinois in enacting laws providing for the publication of names of welfare recipients, Lucy Freeman, in a series of articles in the *New York Times*, quotes Earl N. Parker, acting director of the Family Service Association of America, as stating that such publication "is class legislation stigmatizing all families compelled by circumstances beyond individual control to seek public aid. If logically extended," he says, "this would mean publicity for all persons benefiting from federal and state funds—including business organizations, farmers and veterans."

Such publicity, it may be noted, is nothing new in local government reporting. It comprised, in fact, the earliest and most elementary form of local government financial reporting—the endlessly lengthy listing of "warrants paid" which comprised 99.44 per cent of the fiscal reports of the average small or moderate sized unit even two decades ago and may still be seen in limited use by a few places today.

The development of adequate budgetary and accounting controls, greater confidence in the technical proficiency of administrative personnel and the realization that there are other and more important financial facts citizens need to know, has relegated to the discard pile the list of those to whom public funds were paid.

Citizen Action Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Massachusetts Gets Civic Education Director

Act Provides That Board of Education Make Appointment

ON September 25 Governor Paul A.

Dever of Massachusetts signed a bill passed by the legislature "providing for the advancement of education for American citizenship." To quote the act, "The Department [of Education] is charged with responsibility for leadership in the cooperative study and fuller use, in the public schools and teachers colleges of the commonwealth, of teaching materials and methods, student activities, and administrative and supervisory procedures directed toward more effective preparation for the duties of American citizenship. The Board of Education shall appoint a director to carry out the purposes of this section, and shall provide said director with such facilities and assistance as may be requisite for the discharge of his duties."

Passage of the legislation, according to the Boston *Herald* of September 28, "is the outgrowth of work done by Dr. John J. Mahoney and Dr. Henry W. Holmes in the privately sponsored Civic Education Project at Harvard."¹ The project has prepared a number of civic pamphlets which, according to the *Herald*, "will prove extremely helpful in the new state program. And they have stirred the community into an awareness of the need for action. They should be proud indeed of this public recognition of their aims."

Among the publications of the Civic

Education Project are these:² *And Crown Thy Good* (81 pages), *It Has Been Done* (97 pages), *They Made a Nation* (71 pages), *What Is Capitalism?* (103 pages), *Who Says So?* (62 pages) and *Why Don't They Think?* (88 pages). The program of the project is described in *To Sustain and Strengthen Democracy* (26 pages).

Teaching of Democracy Theme for Schools

Although instruction in civics and English, to prepare new Americans to qualify as citizens, has long been part of the Toledo public school's evening program, the Board of Education is placing increased emphasis on Americanization classes this fall. The program has been revamped and strengthened, reports the *Toledo Municipal News*, published by the Municipal League of Toledo, with plans for follow-up courses to give new citizens "an opportunity to use the adult education program for better understanding of America's cultural, economic and social background."

The Toledo public school system continues its excellent program for high school students on the study of local government. The seminar in local government promoted by the Board of Education and the Commission of Publicity and Efficiency, received an award from Freedoms Foundation, Inc., last spring. The foundation has presented the schools with sound films and books on the American scene. Previously Jesse W. Steiner, the high school instructor who originally suggested the government study, with one of his pupils, went to

¹See the REVIEW, March 1950, page 150.

²See also the REVIEW, December 1950, page 575.

the foundation's headquarters at Valley Forge to receive honors awarded to Toledo's schools for the program.

The American Legion and its women's auxiliary have for a long time sponsored boys and girls state weeks. The Tar Heel Boys State was held in the spring at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, where 287 boys, representing counties, trained in city, county, state and federal government. The boys listened to lectures from government officials, staff members of the Institute of Government of the University of North Carolina, as well as university professors. Two boys selected at the meetings attended Boys Nation at the national capital, their expenses paid by the American Legion.

The Sunflower Girls State was held at the University of Kansas. Among other activities the girls heard lectures by staff members of the university's Bureau of Government Research.

Model United Nations

The State Tri-Hi-Y movement in Pennsylvania held a most successful Model United Nations Assembly at the State's Education Building, Harrisburg, in the spring. It was the culmination of six months of intensive study of the world organization and international relations by local groups, reports *National Hi-Y Ways*. Educators from all parts of the state served as advisors and resource leaders. This is the second such assembly—the first was held two years ago.

Coming down to the local level, the girls took over city hall at Jellico, Tennessee, for a week, under the guidance of Recorder J. H. Albright, making an attempt to keep the city's budget in balance, according to *Tennessee Town and Country*. Boys manned the police and fire departments and learned about city trucks, garbage col-

lection and street cleaning. "A number of Tennessee communities cooperate with school and youth club authorities and turn over their jobs for one day or several days," says the Tennessee publication. "So far, no city has plunged into debt, floated an extra bond issue or made excessive purchases because of mishandling of the posts by the junior citizens."

At Big Stone Gap, Virginia, the first annual Youth Government Day was held under the auspices of the public schools. Over three hundred students voted for elective offices. Those elected to the council appointed a town manager, town attorney and fire chief. The manager, in turn, appointed various administrative officials. A *Progress Report* of the town council comments that the students "administered the affairs of the town in a very creditable manner for 24 hours." It is anticipated that Youth Government Day will become an annual event.

As students of the Middletown (Connecticut) High School took over administration of city affairs for a day, the youthful common council voted five to four in favor of a proposal to establish the council-manager plan. An afternoon feature was a session of the youth board of finance, which tabled a request of the selectmen's office for \$15,000 for a steam shovel "because there was not enough money in the general fund." The group also tabled a resolution seeking \$3,500 to renovate the council chambers but appropriated \$50 for the washing of the municipal building's windows.

Four boys of Savannah, Georgia, received a trip to Washington and New York, financed by contributions from scores of Savannah business concerns and individuals, as a reward for their work under the aus-

pices of the Junior Deputies of Chatham County (Savannah). Founded by Sheriff William C. Harris, the organization now has some 25,000 members, both boys and girls. Emphasis is on juvenile interest in civic affairs.

A group of 25 business and professional men from all parts of Arkansas have formed a nonpartisan citizens' steering committee to look into the financial problem of the Arkansas public schools, according to the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools. The group hopes to set up a program of action to meet the crisis facing many school districts and to assist in preparing a long-range program of public school financing.

The Iowa Council for Better Education, a citizens' committee for the public schools, has been at work for the past twenty years. Starting with only a few participating groups, it includes 37 organizations having a special interest in public education.

"The School Problem Can Be Licked," reprinted from *Changing Times* (the Kiplinger Magazine), is available from, the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19. The commission has also published *Education Molds Our Future—Better Schools Build a Stronger America* (24 pages) and *How Can We Help Get Better Schools* (55 pages).

"Get Out the Vote" Campaigns Flourish

Even though this has been an "off year" politically, much effort was expended by local citizen groups to secure a good turnout at the polls on election day.

The American Heritage Foundation, a nonpartisan organization which sponsored the Freedom Train, offered to help those interested by way of free

mats on getting out the vote. The foundation plans next year to launch a "Register and Vote Campaign designed to bring out the largest vote in any presidential election." "We will invoke," says its announcement, "the assistance of all media on all levels; the active participation of national organizations through their community membership; and we plan to employ other appropriate techniques to impress on the people of this country that the first responsibility of citizenship is to vote."

The Cleveland Citizens League devoted four issues of *Greater Cleveland* to candidates and issues on the November 6 ballot. Voters' directories were issued also by the Detroit Citizens League, the Citizens Union of New York City, Civic League of Improvement Clubs and Associations of San Francisco and the Seattle Municipal League. All except the last make recommendations on both issues and candidates. The Seattle League comments on the suitability of the candidate for the office he seeks.

Leagues of Women Voters in Cincinnati, Toledo, Atlanta, Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) in cooperation with the Civic Club of Allegheny County, and numerous other communities, issued voters directories but without recommendations on candidates. Usually listed is biographical information, sometimes accompanied by candidates' replies to pertinent questions. The leagues frequently take a stand on ballot questions, listing recommendations for or against.

The Cincinnati Charter Committee, New Boston Committee, Worcester Citizens' Plan "E" Association, Cambridge Civic Association, Medford Plan E Civic Association, Hartford Citizens Charter Committee, Concord (New Hampshire) Council-

manager Committee, as well as numerous other citizen groups, recommended and campaigned for slates of candidates for city council.

The Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League conducted a debate on "Campaign Issues" in which two city councilmen took part. The debate was followed by questions and answers and the report of the league's candidate endorsement committee. The league endorsed those candidates supported by the Cincinnati City Charter Committee and made recommendations on ballot proposals.

The Citizens' Council on City Planning of Philadelphia strongly supported two questions on the Philadelphia ballot—city-county consolidation and stabilization of the city's debt. The latter proposition, it is hoped, will aid in implementation of the City Planning Commission's capital program for 1952-57.

Work for Manager Plan

The Montclair (New Jersey) Committee for Council-manager, with P. Leroy Griffith as its chairman, waged a vigorous but unsuccessful campaign for adoption of the council-manager plan on November 6. Also joining in the campaign was the League of Women Voters. It staged a "Vintage of 1916" (year the present commission plan charter was adopted) show at a monthly meeting with costumes and carried the theme through the entire campaign.

Congratulations are in order for the citizens group of San Antonio, Texas, which waged such a successful campaign for the council-manager plan culminating in adoption of a new char-

ter on October 2. The city was deluged with spot announcements over the radio and a number of twelve-minute radio talks were arranged. Members of the commission drafting the charter as well as other charter backers addressed local groups and a folder describing the new charter and the reasons for adopting it was mailed to every poll tax holder. On November 13 the group followed up its victory by electing its entire slate of candidates to the city council which will inaugurate the new charter.

The Glen Rock (New Jersey) Civic Association heard Richard S. Childs, chairman of the executive committee of the National Municipal League, speak on the council-manager plan.

In Rome, New York, the Citizens Committee for the Council-manager Plan staged debates, arranged talks before civic groups, and distributed literature in its campaign for a new charter.

* * *

'Pilgrim's Progress'

A "Political Pilgrim's Progress" series in the *Ladies' Home Journal* has been initiated by Miss Margaret Hickey, public affairs editor of the *Journal* and a council member of the National Civil Service League which reports on the matter in its *Newsletter*. The series is aimed at securing the aid of women on the local level who wish to see government made more effective but who don't know where to start. Articles describing campaigns for better government will appear each month in the *Journal*. *Make a Start*, a "how to do it" leaflet, may be secured from Miss Hickey at the *Journal's* Office in Independence Square, Philadelphia.

Researcher's Digest Edited by John E. Bebout

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Auditor

What Has Happened to the Administrative Auditor? Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter*, October 12, 1951. 2 pp.

Budgets

The Battle of the State Budget: 1951-53 Biennium. Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *Taxpayers News*, July-August 1951. 2 pp.

City of Baltimore Budget Background: Part 1, City Budget-making for 1952 Is Under Way and Taxpayers Have Learned by Experience to Expect Municipal Costs to Increase Year After Year, No Matter What the Tax Rate May Be; Part 2, How the Municipal Budget Has Grown; Part 3, How the Money Was Raised to Meet the Budget Increase; Part 4, How the Per Capita Budget Increase Has Been Shared; Part 5, How Major Budget Items Have Increased 1946 to 1951; Part 6, How Total Budget Funds Have Been Apportioned to Major Functions and Purposes. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar*, September 1951. 2, 2, 2, 2 and 3 pp. respectively.

The City's Financial Problem. St. Louis 1, Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government*, November 7, 1951. 4 pp.

Highlights of the 1951-52 City Budget. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau (bulletin), August 1951. 3 pp.

New City Budgets May Increase Your Taxes 40%. Woonsocket (Rhode Island), Taxpayers Association, *Your Business*, October 1951. 4 pp.

1952 Budget. Lackawanna (New

York), Tax Research Bureau, *Comments*, October 1951. 6 pp.

Constitutional Conventions

Constitutional Conventions—Organization, Powers, Functions and Procedures. By Raymond Uhl, Robert H. Stoudemire and George R. Sherrill. Columbia, University of South Carolina, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 34 pp. 50 cents.

County Officers

A Guidebook of The County Judge and Other County Officers. By Huey Blair Howerton. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 41 pp.

Professional Staff Organization of County Administrators' Offices. By Harry L. Morrison, Jr. Martinez (California), Contra Costa County Taxpayer's Association, *Research Bulletin*, October 4, 1951. 6 pp.

First Institute for Clerks of Circuit Court in Wisconsin. Second Institute for Wisconsin Registers of Deeds. Third Institute for Wisconsin County Treasurers. Madison, University of Wisconsin, University Extension Division, Bureau of Government, 1951. 62, 71 and 103 pp. respectively.

Disaster

Flood Costs in Kansas. By Harriet M. Shedd. **Flood Control in Kansas.** By Marvin Meade. Lawrence, University of Kansas, *Your Government*, September 15 and October 15, 1951. 1 and 3 pp. respectively.

Education

City School Per Student Costs up 10%. Student-Teacher Ratio Downward Trend Continues. Madison, Public Expenditure Survey of Wisconsin, *Wisconsin Tax News*, October 31, 1951. 2 pp.

Financing Our Schools to Meet

Rising Budget, School District Relies Upon Four Principal Sources of Revenue. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, October 1, 1951. 6 pp.

The Houston School Dilemma. Houston 2, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, *TRA Special Bulletin*, August 1951. 2 pp.

Housing

San Diego Defense Housing Muddle. Flint 3 (Michigan), Civic Research Council, October 26, 1951. 2 pp.

Industry

Good Towns Attract Good Industries. Philadelphia 4, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, University of Pennsylvania, *Municipal Administration*, October 1951. 2 pp.

Land Use

Surveys, Subdivision and Platting, and Boundaries—Washington State Laws and Judicial Decisions. (Supplement to 1949 report.) Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, September 1951. 9 pp.

Legislative Committees

1951 Interim Committees of the California Legislature. Los Angeles, Chamber of Commerce, State and Local Government Department, 1951. 47 pp.

Legislatures

Report on the 1951 Regular Session of the California Legislature. Los Angeles, Chamber of Commerce, State and Local Government Department, 1951. 59 pp.

Mental Health

Oregon Mental Health Laws. Portland 5, City Club, *City Club Bulletin*, October 19, 1951. 10 pp.

Municipal Automotive Equipment

Management of Boston's Automotive Equipment. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, 1951. 109 pp.

Municipal Government

City Government Survey. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment*, October 19, 1951. 3 pp.

The Enemies of Good Government. By Harold Riegelman. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter*, September-October 1951. 3 pp. \$1.

Parking

The Crane Street Parking Lot. (1) How Much Is It Used? (2) Do Receipts Cover Out-of-Pocket Costs? Schenectady 5 (New York), Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities*, October 19 and 26, 1951. 2 pp. each.

Personnel

Briefing the Proposed Personnel Plan. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, September 21, 1951. 4 pp.

Planning

Regional and Metropolitan Planning. Toronto 5, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government*, October 10, 1951. 4 pp.

Police

What Technical Staff Should Conduct Fire and Police Examinations? Performance Budget Would Measure More Objectively Police Department's Needs. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, September 14 and 24, 1951. 3 and 7 pp. respectively.

Primary

Cross Filing in Primary Elections. By Evelyn Hazen. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 37 pp. \$1.

Public Relations

Now is the Time—to Start MPR Activity. By Pan Dodd Wheeler. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City*, October 1951. 6 pp.

Reapportionment

Redistricting Overdue—Despite Constitution's Mandate, Legislative Districts Have Not Been Reapportioned. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, September 24, 1951. 4 pp.

Salaries

City Salary Increases. Waterbury 2 (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Briefs*, October 24, 1951. 3 pp.

St. Louis County Pay Schedules. Duluth 2, Governmental Research Bureau, *Citizen's Business*, November 2, 1951. 4 pp.

State Payrolls. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *Tax Bulletin*, October 1951. 16 pp.

Special Legislation

Shadow Over the City—Special Legislation for Tennessee Municipalities. By Catherine Fox Siffin. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration and Municipal Technical Advisory Service, 1951. 80 pp.

State Government

The Executive Branch of Louisiana State Government. Baton Rouge, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, *PAR Report*, October 15, 1951. 8 pp.

The Maryland Budget System. First Interim Report. Baltimore 1, Commission on Administrative Organization of the State, 1951. Variously paged.

Taxation and Finance

Analysis of Appropriations Made by Nevada Legislature 1951 Session. By A. N. Jacobson. Carson City, Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, 1951. 19 pp.

Poughkeepsie Town Finances. A Survey Report on the Financial Structure and Operations of the Town of Poughkeepsie, New York. Part One: **Finances of Town Government.** Part Two: **Assessments and Property Taxes.** Poughkeepsie, Area Development As-

sociation, 1951. 26 and 17 pp. respectively. \$1 each.

Property Taxpayers Get Relief! New 1951-52 Tax Bills Down! Los Angeles 15, Property Owners Association of California, *Tax Facts*, September 1951. 4 pp.

Receipts of California Cities 1948-49 and 1949-50. Payments by California Cities 1948-49 and 1949-50. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest*, August 1951. 8 and 9 pp. respectively. 25 cents.

Real Estate Tax Sales in 1950. Increase in Real Estate Tax Sales Recorded: Two Cents on Each Dollar Levy Sold in 1950. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer*, July 1951. 2 pp.

Report of the (Massachusetts) Special Commission on Taxation. Part I: **The Tax System Today.** Part II: **The Taxation of Personal Incomes.** Part III: **Highway Fund Financing.** Part IV: **The Comparative Impact of Corporate Taxes in Massachusetts.** Boston, the Commission, 1951. 49, 86, 115 and 86 pp. respectively.

Revenues, Expenditures and Debt. State of Texas Compared with the 48 States. City of Houston Compared with Other Cities. Houston 2, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1951. 64 pp.

Revenues of Small Alabama Cities. By Paul E. Alyea. University, University of Alabama, Bureau of Business Research and Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 27 pp.

South Dakota State Finance. (Presented in graphs and charts with some interstate comparisons.) Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Governmental Research Bureau, 1951. 84 pp.

State Budget Tops Billion. Action by Legislature Reported. By Frank H. Thill. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest*, July 1951. 4 pp. 25 cents.

State Comptroller Attacks Council's Fiscal Plan. Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *CPEC Special Bulletin*, September 20, 1951. 4 pp.

State General Sales and Gross Receipts Taxes—1951. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Briefs*, November 1, 1951. 2 pp.

Statement on the Business Gross Receipts Tax Submitted to the Comptroller's Committee on Local Non-Property Taxes at Meeting of February 2, 1951. Syracuse 2 (New York), Governmental Research Bureau, *Research Memorandum*, August 1951. 12 pp.

Ten Years of Municipal Finance. Woonsocket (Rhode Island), Taxpayers Association, *Your Business*, August 1951. 4 pp.

Trends in Public Finance. As They Affect Citizens and Taxpayers in Tennessee. Significant Aspects of Federal, State and Local Government Finance as of June 30, 1950. Nashville 3, Tennessee Taxpayers Association. 1951. 21 pp. Tables.

The Utah State Tax Commission. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report*, October 1951. 4 pp.

What Has Happened to City Revenues? 1939 to 1951. St. Louis 1, Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government*, October 17, 1951. 4 pp.

Wyoming Round-up of 1951 Tax Levies. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, August 1951. 29 pp.

Technical Services

Analysis of Technical Services Available to State and Local Agencies in Tennessee. By Virginia Holmes Brown and Hoyt Crider, Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, 1951. 48 pp.

Taxicabs

Municipal Regulation of Taxicabs. By John R. Kerstetter. Chicago 37,

American Municipal Association, 1951. 8 pp. Tables. 50 cents.

Traffic Control

Administrative Procedures for County Traffic Enforcement Officers. Second Institute 1951. Presented by the Wisconsin County Boards Association, the Wisconsin County Police and Police Radio Operators Association, the Bureau of Government of the University Extension Division, in cooperation with the Wisconsin Motor Vehicle Department. Madison, University of Wisconsin, University Extension Division, 1951. Variously paged.

Transit

A Discussion of Toronto Transportation Commission Financing for the Citizen. Toronto 5, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs*, July 20, 1951. 6 pp.

Effective Transportation—Philadelphia Needs a Policy and a Program to Solve Its Transportation Problem. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, October 29, 1951. 5 pp.

The High Cost of Driving to Work. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin*, July 10, 1951. 1 p.

Truck Weights

1951 Highway Legislation. Important New Legislation for Truck Weights, Penalties and Speeds. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer*, August 1951. 5 pp.

Veterans Bonuses

Bonuses for Veterans of World War II. By Hideto Kono and Robert M. Kamins. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1951. 31 pp. 50 cents.

Water Supply

What is the Best Solution to the Water Supply Problem? Schenectady 5 (New York), Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities*, August 28, 1951. 2 pp.

Books in Review

The Interstate Compact Since 1925. By Frederick L. Zimmermann and Mitchell Wendell. Chicago, The Council of State Governments, 1951. xi, 132 pp. \$2.

This handy monograph, the work of two men with rich experience in the field of interstate cooperation, is a valuable addition to the growing list of Council of State Governments publications and at the same time supplements the earlier Frankfurter and Landis study.

Zimmermann and Wendell, in a comprehensive manner, appraise the evolution of the interstate compact and, after defining a "compact," treat various problems of enforcement, national participation, state compacts with "foreign powers," and procedural aspects of making compacts.

Probably the most provocative section of the study is the final chapter, which attempts an appraisal of "Compacts and American Federalism." Here, the authors consider objections to the compact (*e.g.* the values of "informal cooperation" in our federal system) and assert the virtues of the compact: "The interstate compact can supply the requisite stability precisely because it is a formal device. . . . In general, its advantages rest on its legal strength and its flexibility. . . . In addition to its legal compulsion the compact possesses a moral force because of its status as a formal agreement." Further, they stress the great possibilities of the compact "as a means of administrative integration."

With respect to regionalism and river valley authorities, the authors pay their respects to the achievements of the TVA and argue persuasively that the TVA is not a ready-made formula to be applied elsewhere. One of their

conclusions will probably irritate both the proponents of private ownership of the utility industry and those who feel that the states are technologically outmoded: "If public ownership of power is to grow, it may be well to consider whether it would not be in the best interests of a strong federal system to encourage public ownership by the states wherever practicable; if the bulk of the utility industry is to remain in private hands, some way of keeping clashes between national and state regulatory interests at a minimum should be found. . . . The interstate compact is well fitted to the solution of this problem."

Unfortunately, the discussions of both regionalism and urban development fail to develop any analysis of the vital problems of achieving and maintaining responsible government (*e.g.*, the problems resulting from rural domination of state legislatures).

JOSEPH E. McLEAN
Princeton University

Municipal Non-property Taxes: 1951. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1951. 47 pp. \$1.50.

This is the eleventh in a series of studies of municipal revenues begun by the M.F.O.A. in 1935 and the third supplement to the association's 1945 study, *Where Cities Get Their Money*. Like its predecessors, its title is something of an understatement. The volume provides a terrific amount of information about a variety of licenses, fees, excises and other charges imposed both for revenue and for regulatory purposes.

Relating mainly to cities of 25,000 population and over, the current study brings down to date summary data as

to rates and per capita yields of the major municipal sources of miscellaneous income. Although the series is intended primarily for the public official, this supplement stands on its own feet and will be as interesting to the layman as it is indispensable to the student.

W.S.S.

A Citizen Thinks of His Government. By Charles G. Morris. Philadelphia, Dorrance & Company, 1950. viii, 220 pp. \$2.50.

Written "at odd moments in a busy life," the articles which go to make up this volume cover many phases of the author's wide experience—as lawyer, manufacturer, civil service reformer, legislator, and three-time candidate for governor of Connecticut. "It is intended," says the author in his "Rearword," "to present cold or hot facts to American citizens who have not had his opportunity to learn them." A few of the chapter titles include: The Right to Break Unjust Laws, The Deity Called Government, Consent of the Governed, Bungled Taxation, When Shall We Regain Our Freedom?, Is Legislative Control of Cities Justified?

Annual Report, City of Hartford, Connecticut. Hartford, Office of City Manager, 1951. 36 pp. Illus.

This third annual report under the council-manager plan is a prize example of good editing and presentation. It reports a switch to a 40-hour work-week for the 1,000 employees, a 43 per cent reduction in crime since 1946, the lowest fire loss in nine years (first of its class in the United States Chamber of Commerce National Fire Waste Contest), renovation of 46 per cent of the 207 miles of streets, progress on a \$11,000,000 capital improvement program, better child care and a surplus of \$815,000.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also *Researcher's Digest* and other departments)

Accounting

Local Government Tax Accounting. New York 22, International Business Machines Corporation, 1951. 16 pp. Illus.

Bonds

State and Municipal Bonds Legal for Savings Banks in New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut. New York 4, *The Bond Buyer*, 1951. 28 pp.

Budgets

Budgetary Code and Its Use for Accounting, Budgeting, Purchasing (Effective January 1, 1952). Norfolk, Virginia, Bureau of Budget, 1951. 35 pp.

Building Codes

Abridged Building Code. Basic Building Code. New York, Building Officials Conference of America, 1950. 119 and 370 pp. respectively. Paper cover, \$3 and \$5; Cloth cover, \$4.50 and \$6.50 respectively.

State Building Construction Code Applicable to One- and Two-Family Dwellings. New York 19, New York State Building Code Commission, 1951. 51 pp.

Civil Rights

Civil Rights in America. Edited by Robert K. Carr. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals*, May 1951. ix, 238 pp. \$2.

Civil Service

Report to the Public on the New York Civil Service. 73rd Annual Report of the Civil Service Reform Association. New York 16, the Association, 1951. 14 pp.

Education

The New South Carolina. An address by Jeff B. Bates (State Treasurer

of South Carolina). New York, The Municipal Forum of New York, 1951. 10 pp. (Apply William J. Riley, Chairman of Committee on Publications, c/o Drexel & Company, 14 Wall Street, New York 5.)

Employment

Planning Community Facilities for Basic Employment Expansion. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1951. 28 pp. \$3.

Law Practice

A Study of Unauthorized Practice of Law. By Edwin M. Otterbourg. Chicago, American Bar Association Committee on Unauthorized Practice of the Law, 1951. vi, 84 pp. \$2.

Recreation

Recreation and Park Yearbook. A Review of Local and County Recreation and Park Developments 1900-1950. New York 10, National Recreation Association, 1951. 69 pp. \$1.50.

Recreation for Older People in California. Prepared in collaboration with American Women's Voluntary Services of California and Department of Physical Education, University of California, Los Angeles, by State of California Recreation Commission. Sacramento 14, State Printing Division, Documents Section, 1951. 68 pp. 50 cents plus tax.

Service Charges

1950-51 Sanitary Service Charges in Tennessee. By Charles L. Crangle. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1951. 113 pp. \$1.

Surveys

An Economic Survey of New Jersey. By Homer Hoyt. Trenton, New Jersey Department of Conservation and Economic Development, 1950. 88 pp. Tables.

Taxation and Finance

Annual Report of the [New York] State Tax Commission 1949-1950. (Part I of the Annual Report of the

Department of Taxation and Finance.) Albany, The Commission, 1951. ix, 89 pp.

Large-City Finances in 1950. (The 39 cities covered are those having over 250,000 inhabitants in 1950.) Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 57 pp.

The State and Local Revenue Outlook. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, 1951. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Supplement to Taxes Levied under Act 481—Types, Rates, Receipts. (Covers actions reported during period from January 1, 1951, to October 1, 1951.) By Marielle Hobart. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, 1951. 12 pp. Tables.

Traffic Safety

America Needs Trained Drivers as Never Before. Washington, D. C., American Automobile Association, 1951. 20 pp. illus.

Delay the Millionth Traffic Death. The Millionth Man Campaign Kit. Chicago 11, The Advertising Council, Special Service Office, 1951. Variousy paged.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for December, **Holiday Hazards.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1951. Variousy paged.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. November, 1951, theme: **Pedestrian Safety.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1951. Variousy paged.

Water

Water Development—Federal, State, Local Fields? Planning—Financing—Construction—Management. Report by Section on Water Problems. San Francisco, Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth* (Part Two), September 24, 1951. 24 pp. 25 cents.

Why Mr. Childs Makes Field Trips

Political philosopher and civic doer, Richard S. Childs is working at the National Municipal League office practically every day—except when he is out making speeches, as he was doing when the accompanying picture was taken.

Here Mr. Childs is surrounded by members of the League of Women Voters of Arlington County, Virginia, just before addressing that group's Institute on Local Government. The picture probably illustrates, writes Mrs. George C. Vietheer, president of the organization, "Why Mr. Childs makes field trips."

The development of Mr. Childs' interest in public affairs is not recent. Rather freshly out of Yale, he, with Woodrow Wilson and others, originated the short ballot movement which has done much to simplify the voter's task. A few years later he established himself in history by originating the council-manager form of government which, now in effect in more than 1,000 communities and counties, has done more to produce the kind of local government people want than any other single device.

For years Mr. Childs' attention was divided between a successful business career and active leadership of civic organizations until he reached the mandatory retirement age as a top official of American Cyanamid, when he

joined the National Municipal League's staff as an unpaid volunteer.

In addition to carrying a heavy load of correspondence, research projects and seminars for foreign officials in the German and Japanese "democratization program," he is in considerable demand as a speaker before civic groups. Most numerous on his list of speaking engagements are state and local chapters of the League of Women Voters.

Jones Takes Formosa Post

Howard P. Jones, former NML secretary, will take over his new duties as executive officer of the American Embassy at Taipeh, Formosa, in January, according to news reports, relinquishing his post as director of the United States High Commission for Berlin. Mr. Jones, who was in turn civil service commissioner and deputy comptroller for the state of New York before entering military service, since the close of World War II has been with the State Department in Germany in various capacities.

REVIEWERS WELCOME

(Continued from page 562)

fine volume, . . . an interesting and well documented history of the League and its work.

—*Journal of the American Judicature Society*, August 1951

This important book places the momentous contributions of the League to American politics in their true perspective. It provides much invaluable information about the personalities and other influences which have helped to shape the League's work and program. The book is definitely "must" reading for all interested in the progress of local government.

—*The American City*, February 1951



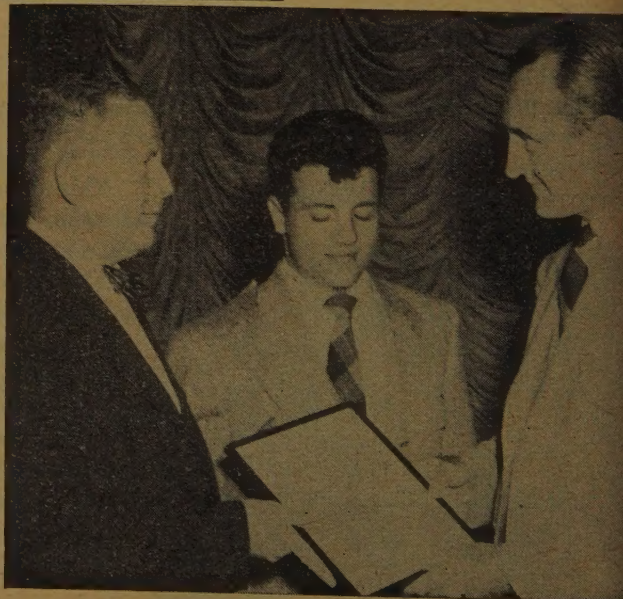
Youngstown

Mayor Charles P. Henderson of Youngstown, Ohio, receiving a certificate from Allen H. Seed, Jr., NML director of field services, honoring citizens for backing the mayor's campaign to drive out racketeers. Presentation was made at a Rotary luncheon.



Hartford

For its "junior city council" to promote interest of youth in public affairs, Hartford, Connecticut, receives "All-American Cities of 1950" award, co-sponsored by NML and *Minneapolis Tribune*. Left to right, Mayor Cyril Coleman, "Junior Mayor" Carmen Arace and Mr. Seed.



Portland

—Portland Press Herald

At Portland, Maine, Richard S. Childs, chairman of the executive committee of NML, presents "All-American Cities of 1950" award to Robert L. Getchell, acting chairman of the city council in recognition of revival of town meetings on a neighborhood basis to inform citizens about their government.

Ammunition

The publications listed below are indispensable tools for citizen groups seeking better government:

Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 45 pages (1949).....	\$.20
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1950).....	.20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1951).....	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1951).....	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1949).....	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1950).....	.05
P. R., 12 pages (1948).....	.05

Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946).....	.75
Model Bond Law, 20 pages (1929).....	.50
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948).....	.75
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1941).....	1.50
Model Direct Primary Election System, 48 pages (1951).....	1.00
Model Election Administration System, 42 pages (1930).....	.75
Model Medico-legal Investigative System, 39 pages (1951).....	.50
Model State Civil Service Law, 23 pages (1946).....	.50
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948).....	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946).....	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1950).....	.15
Citizen Organization for Political Activity: The Cincinnati Plan. 32 pages (1949).....	.50
City Growing Pains, 116 pages (1941).....	.50
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 70 pages (1951).....	2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 34 pages (1947).....	.50
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1949).....	.50
Modernizing State Constitutions, 21 pages (1948).....	.25
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951).....	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940).....	.25

Discounts on Quantity Orders — Write for Complete List and Description.

National Municipal League

299 Broadway

New York 7, N. Y.

A Councilman Speaks — On the City Council

"Sourcebooks" for all City Councilmen

By Arthur W. Bromage

\$1 each, Postpaid

George Wahr Publishing Company

105 North Main Street

Ann Arbor, Mich.

1951 Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws

- 1. Review of state constitutions which permit county manager structures**
- 2. Digest of proposed Model County Charter (now in draft form)**
- 3. Digests of 12 constitutional provisions, 8 optional laws and 16 charters permitting effective county manager positions in 16 states.**
- 4. Digest of 5 other county charters providing appointive executives in four states.**

Loose-leaf, mimeographed

\$2 postpaid

National Municipal League

299 Broadway

New York 7, N. Y.